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CONTEMPLATIONS
MORAL
AND
DIVINE.

The Third Part.

By Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knight; Sometime
Chief Justice of the King's-Bench.

The Second Edition, with Large Additions,
by the same Author.

To which is Added,

The LIFE of the Author, Written by the
Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord
Bisshop of Sarum.

L O N D O N,

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TO THE
READER.

The Author of the following Treatises, is that Judicious and Pious Man, Sir Matthew Hale. The World needs not to be Instructed in the Worth of that Excellent Person, nor the Value set upon all his Writings. Those, who had the Happiness of knowing, and being Conversant with him, are Witnesses to the one, and the meanest Reader needs not to be inform'd in the other. The Author of his Life, and the Publisher of many of his Pieces, make him known to those, who before were unacquainted with him; so that to pretend to give any Account of him here, were but actum agere, and to be as iudicis as impertinent.

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By

To the Reader.

By them we find our Author so Faithful a Manager of his Time, as to make it constantly subservient to the good of the Publick. For when he withdrew from the Fatigue of serving that in his high Station, he enjoy'd not his leisure Hours in idle Ease, but laid 'em out upon instructing the Noblest part of Man: And his Thoughts never flow'd so usefully, as when sequester'd from Worldly Business.

The Treatises now Publish'd, are the effects of the most delightful part of his Life, his Horæ Sacræ, and make a Third Volume of his Contemplations.

He had † before given us one part of the Knowledge of Christ Crucified, and now you are presented with a just Discourse upon the same Subject. What he or rather his Publisher, * had given us but a taste of, upon that grand Precept, of doing as we would be done unto, is now in this

† Contempla-
tions, 1 Vol.

*Knowledge
of God and of
our selves.

To the Reader.

this Tract largely pursued, and justly handled. The other parts of this Volume are entire Discourses upon Subjects not before Treated of by him ; only the Advice to his Children is || pursuant to his Custom of sending or giving 'em his Directions upon several Occasions.

|| Directions for
the keeping of
the Lord's Day.

The usefulness of this Good Man's Writings, makes the World envy his Heirs Happiness in the perusing of his invaluable Labours, not yet made Publick. But as he has been pleased to gratifie it by bringing out the Manuscripts from whence this Volume is faithfully Published ; so we still expect to see the rest of 'em drawn from their Obscurity, to oblige and further Mankind in his Eternal warfare.

The

The T R E A T I S E S comprised in this Volume are,

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THE

THE
KNOWLEDGE
O F
CHRIST
CRUCIFIED.

P A R T I I .

IN what precedes, we have considered the Advantages and Benefits, which, together with *Christ*, we Receive, relating to a Christian's Estate in his Life in this World, and in his passage out of it. The last Act of his being here, if it may be called an Act, is his Death. And therein we have consider'd the Victory of *Christ* over Death, and the Transferring of the Advantages of that Victory to us; whereby the Fear of Death, and the Damage of Death are removed:

B and

and that which was before the Curse of our Nature, is become our Gain: Not simply in it self; but in relation to what follows after it, *viz.* The State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death: which is next to be considered.

Such is the Absolute Perfection of God, that he hath his Blessedness and Self-sufficiency with himself. He is Eternally full of his own Goodness, which is Essentially the same with Himself, an Infinite Good commensurate to an Infinite Desire, and always Present. So that nothing without himself adds any thing to him, or is desired by him, in relation to his Blessedness. All Good comes from him, and returns into him, as into that Ocean from whence it moved.

But all dependent Beings, as they have not their Being from themselves, but from God; so they have not their Blessedness or Happiness essentially *in* themselves, because not *from* themselves. They are Vessels receptive of their Good, from him that is the Author of their being potential Beings, not pure Acts: that are constituted in such a degree, that they are rather Passive in receiving Good into them, than Active in filling themselves with their own Good. They are thin and empty, till they are filled with their Objects, and are diversified in the Happiness or Unhappiness of their Beings, and in the degrees of either, according to the nature of the Objects with which they are filled, and the different degrees and measures of their Unions to them.

The Good suitable to an Intellectual Nature must first be known, before it can be desired: and, according to the position or station of such Good, it works differently upon the Soul, and the Soul moves

moves towards it in a different manner. If considered meerly as absent, it raiseth Desire; which is a reaching out of the Soul towards an Union with that Known Good: If absent, and upon probable or sure grounds expected, then it joyns unto Desire, Hope; which, according to the variety of the Medium, upon which the Expectation is grounded; is the more feeble and weak, having less Assurance, and consequently more Fear mingled with it: Or the more strong and firm, having a stronger Assurance, and consequently less Fear mingled with it. This is a kind of Middle Affection, being mingled with desire to the Good as Absent, and delight in it as Pre apprehended, and so in some degree Present. The Good that is expected, though it be not absolutely present, yet it is looked upon as in a nearer Conjunction to the Power, than if it were not at all expected. Hope hath this Property, or Power in it, that it Unites an Absent Object, if expected, unto the Power, by Pre apprehension, though it cannot in Actual Fruition: And hence it is said, Heb. 11. 1. *That Faith, which is in effect the firmest kind of Hope, is the substance of things hoped for.* It makes a kind of Pre existence of the Thing unto it self, and fetcheth back Futurity to a kind of Presence. But if the Good be Really Present, and not only Expected; then the Affection that is wrought in the Soul is Delight. Though the Soul be moved toward the Thing it Enjoyeth with Desire, yet the Enjoyment still filleth the Desire. There is a continual and mutual action of the Desire upon the Object, and of the Object unto the Desire, and so there is a Perpetual Motion, and yet a Perpetual Rest: the Desire moving it self to the Object, and the Object

immediately satisfying the Desire, because present and enjoyed : and from that Mutual Action of the Power and the Object one upon the other, ariseth Delight, Complacency, and Contentment.

That which is the chiefest Good of the Creature, when known, cannot choose but work most effectually upon these Motions of the Soul, and draw out these Affections of the Soul, in the most eminent and effectual measure. A small Good doth draw out a measure of Desire unto it, Hope for it, and Delight in it ; but still in a smaller measure. For the Soul must needs reserve somewhat for some other Good that is more adequate to its Power : But if the Good be adequate to the Power, then it must of necessity draw out the most intense motion of the Soul to it : and consequently the greater the Good is, the greater must be the Desire of it, if Absent ; the Hope of it, if expected ; the Delight in it, if Enjoyed : Because the Object is not too narrow for the Power, but Commensurate to it, and filleth it so, that in effect there is no residue of Power left to move towards any thing else but it, or at least in subordination to it.

The greatest Good that an Intellectual Creature can possibly have, and that which alone is Commensurate to it, is to have its self filled with the Manifestation of the Truth, Glory, Goodness, and Bounty of God. All other things are too narrow to fill the power and capacity of the Soul. This alone being Infinite, is Commensurate, and more than Commensurate to that Power, and in order unto which, that Power or Receptivity was planted in the Soul, *viz.* To enjoy God according to that Measure and Manner that the Creature is capable of. And this is the true and only Blessedness.

ness of Man : and consequently must needs draw from the Soul the most Ardent Desire, the most Comfortable Expectation or Hope, and the most absolute Delight and Contentment. For herein as the Soul moves towards an Object that is natural to it, *viz.* Good ; so it moves toward it, as towards the most natural, suitable, commensurate Good unto it, and consequently in the intensest degree of its Power and Ability.

Though the Enjoyment of God be the Happiness and Perfection of the Creature, because it, and it alone, fills that Vacuity and Receptivity of the Powers of the Soul : Yet if those Powers of the Soul be indisposed, unfit and disordered, incapable of that Blessed Object ; Though there wants not an Object to make it Blessed, yet there wants a Means of Uniting that Object to the Soul, at least to communicate it self unto it in that perfect measure that may make it perfectly Blessed. If the Sight be dim and imperfect, though the Object be never so Beautiful, and the *Medium* never so Light, yet the Object is not united to the Power, at least in that perfection it should be. If there be an Intelligible Object never so Glorious, and fit to be known, yet if the Understanding be dark, the Union is not wrought, or so perfectly wrought between the Understanding and the Object. If the Object of the Will be never so amiable, adequate, useful, good ; yet if the Will be set upon filthiness, impurity, or any unworthy Object ; or if any impurity be mingled with it, the Power of the Will doth not receive, or at least so genuinely receive, that Good that is propounded : And consequently in a Soul thus distempered, there cannot arise that full desire of the Soul after God, that

6 *The KNOWLEDGE of* Part II.

comfortable Hope or Expectation of the Enjoyment of him, nor that actual Fruition of him.

Our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Eternal Son of God, the Prince of Peace, that came into the World to restore God to the Service and Honour of his Creature, and to restore Man to the Fruition of his Creator, and consequently to his Blessedness, in order to this great end.

First, Hath in some measure cured and healed the Distempers of our Souls, and the Powers of them ; that so they may move regularly, even in this Life, towards this Blessed Union, The Enjoyment of God in our Desires.

Secondly, He hath obtained for us a State of Perfection of Soul and Body after Death, whereby we may be fit to receive and enjoy God in Perfection : know him as we are known ; Love him, and Receive him.

Thirdly, He hath obtained for us a most full Communication of God unto Man, even in the fullest compass of his Power and Capacity to receive him in that State after Death.

Fourthly, He hath fully described that Blessed Condition in the Enjoyment of God in that Life to come, and revealed it unto us, and Sealed unto us the Assurance of it, by the Truth of God and his own Resurrection.

Now because in order of Nature, the *Act of Understanding to Know*, doth go before the *Motions*

tions of the Will and Affections, to desire or hope for the Object that is desired or hoped for. And because in order of Nature, the Thing or Object that is to be known, hath a priority to the Act of the Understanding whereby it is known; though in point of Execution, or actual Existence, the Object may be future and subsequent to the Act whereby it is known: Therefore we shall in the first place consider the Estate of a Christian after Death, and the Privilege that with and by Christ he shall then receive: that so it being known, it may be desired, hoped for, and in due time perfectly enjoyed.

There is therefore considerable a Four-fold Estate of a Christian after Death.

1. The State of the Soul and Body from the Instant of Separation until the time of his Resurrection.
2. The State of the Soul and Body from the Instant of the Resurrection until the Judgment.
3. The State of the Body and Soul thus Re-united in the Time of the Judgment.
4. The State of the Body and Soul after Judgment unto all Eternity.

These are Secrets that never lay within the reach or discovery of the Light of Nature, Job 38. 17. *Have the Gates of Death been opened unto thee: The State of that Region hath been locked up from the*

knowledge of Mankind in this Life: and no more is discovered or discoverable unto us, than what it hath pleased the God of Nature in the Scriptures to reveal and discover unto us: So far we may go; farther than that we may not, cannot see: and all other Conclusions, farther than warranted by that Light, may prove dangerous Untruths, often prove Presumptuous Curiosities, but at the best are but uncertain Conjectures, which want bottom enough to build our Desires, Hopes, or Expectations upon. And herein therefore we must ever magnifie the Excellency of the Scriptures, and the Great Mercy of God in giving them unto us, whereby those Truths are discovered that are of infinite concernment unto us, and that from the Finger of God himself, who alone could discover them: wherein all the Disquisitions and Conclusions of Natural Reason, or Human Learning, are short and defective. This is a Learning that no other means can teach us but Divine Revelation; a Continent that no other Map can describe, nor no other Light can discover unto us, but the Word of God himself: If we guide not our selves by this Thread, we lose our selves in the Discourse or Contemplation of it.

i. Therefore, concerning the State of Body and Soul after Death, till the Re-union of both in the Resurrection.

The Word of God shews us the Principles of Man, his Body and Soul, Gen. 2. 7. *He formed Man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and Man became a living Soul.* These two Pieces of different Extractions he so closely and wisely united together, that they made but

but one Piece: and so far advanced the corruptible part, the Body, that it was indued with an actual incorruption; subject indeed to a Translation, but not to a Dissolution, Corruption, or Separation, but only by the means of Sin.

But Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin — Natural Death as well as Eternal Death. It did deprive the Body of that Incorruption that the power of God had annexed to it, though of its own nature otherwise Corruptible: And though it did not subject that Immortal part, the Soul, unto Corruption or Annihilation; yet, as it stood in relation to the Body, and as the Body and Soul made but one Man, so it subjected the Man to a Dissolution, a separation of those Two Parts, which did constitute him one Reasonable Creature. The Body became subject to Corruption, not Annihilation; the Soul to the Curse, not to Corruption; and the Body and Soul as constituting one Man, to Death or Dissolution. So then, Death Separating these Two Constitutive parts of Man, his Body and his Soul; we will consider how, after the Death, the state of either stands, as to such as are truly united unto Christ Jesus, and to God by him.

1. As to the Body ; It is true, the Body after the Dissolution or Separation from the Soul, corrupts, and, as the Wise Man saith, *Returns to his Earth*, Eccles. 12. 7. Gen. 3. 19. *Dust thou art, and unto Dust thou shalt return.* And yet, this Flesh resteth in hope, Psal. 16. 9. The Hope and Assurance of a Resurrection to Life, Job 19. 26. *Though after my skin worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh I shall see God.* And doubtless, as an Evidence and Effect of this Assurance it was, that not only by a Natural

or Moral instinct, or Custom, but even with some mixture of Religious Observance it was, that the Antient Patriarchs took that Solemn Care of preserving their Dust, *Gen. 23. 4.* *Abraham* takes more care for a fixed Burying-place, than for a fixed place of Living, *Gen. 49. 29.* *Jacob* gives a charge to his Sons to Bury him with his Father, *Gen. 50. 25.* *Joseph* secures, with an Oath, the Transportation of his Bones : Not out of any doubt of God's Power to recollect those Bones, though scattered over the World ; but to leave a kind of Testimonial of that Assurance of a Bleſſed Resurrection ; and that even in those Bones there lay a Depositum or Pledge thereof, *Isai. 65. 8.* *Destroy them not, for there is a Bleſſing in them.*

But to come a little nearer to that Privilege, that even the Bodies of such as are united to *Christ*, have in this state of Separation, and seeming Corruption.

1. Those very Dead Bodies, though they put on Corruption, and crumble into Dust, yet that very Dust is under a special Care and Providence of God. *An^t as their Death is precious in his sight, Psal. 116. 15.* So is their Dust not neglected. The Blood of Righteous *Abel*, though ſpilt upon the Ground, yet had a Voice that the God of Heaven heard, *Gen. 4. 10.* And he, that whiles they lived, *Num-bered the hairs of their heads, Matth. 10. 30.* those seemingly unnecessary Excretions of the Body, hath no leſs care of their Dust, which he hath reserved for a Glorious Resurrection. When that Evil Angel wou'd have injured the Deceased Body of *Moses*, and abused it, to be an Instrument of Superftition; or ſome other unworthy uſe, an Arch-Angel was

was employed to prevent it, *Jude 9.* And therefore it I should foresee, that by Fury or Malice of Men, or any other Permission, or Dispensation of Divine Providence, my Body should be mang'ed into a Thousand pieces, or be resolved into Smoak and Ashes, and those Ashes scattered into the Wind, or Ocean ; yet even in relation to this Body of mine, my Flesh should rest in Hope : because that All seeing-Eye of God, can follow the most subtil parts of this my dissolved Carcass, and pursue them from place to place till they shall be Lodged : And that Almighty Power of God, by that effectual sound of the Last Trump, shall and will Re-summon all those scattered Atomes, and call them together from their remotest dissipation, and re-unite them again in a Glorious Resurrection.

2. Those very Dead Bodies are not by Death wholly disunited from *Christ.* It is very plain, that by Faith in *Christ* in this Life, the Whole Man is United unto *Christ*, and become a Member of his Mystical Body : And though the Instrument whereby this Union is wrought, Faith on our part, and the Spirit of *Christ* on his part, have their more immediate Residence and Termination in the Soul ; yet by vertue thereof there is wrought a Communication of some Privileges of that Union, unto the Body it self, 1 Cor. 6. 15. *Know ye not that your Bodies are the Members of Christ?* 1 Cor. 6. 19. *Know ye not that your Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost?* And therefore though by Death these Bodies taste of Corruption, and return unto their Dust ; yet in as much as by the Body of *Christ* there is deposited in this Dust, a kind of Secret Seed of Immortality, this very Dust is not totally

tally separated from that Union it once had with its Head: And hence it was that when the Blessed Body of our Lord was laid in the Grave, and thereby Healed the Deadliness of it, it did, as it were, Disseminate, and Diffuse into the Bodies of the Saints a kind of Virtue, or Energy ; so that in the Resurrection of our Saviour's Body, the Dead Bodies of the Saints, by secret Sympathy, as it were, with our Saviour's Body, and in Evidence of that Vital Power, which was derived into them, by virtue of that Union, as the dead Body by the touch of *Elisha's* Bones, *2 Kings 13. 21.* They were quickened, and entered into the Holy City, and appeared unto many, *Matth. 27. 53.*

And upon this account likewise, I have a comfort in Death, even in relation to this Body of mine, my old Acquaintance, which I am now laying down in the Dust : that though it be sown in dishonour, and must turn into Dust ; yet my Lord, to whom by Faith I am united, looks upon this Dust, as that wherein he owns a Property, *1 Cor. 6. 20.* as that which was and shall be a Member of his own Mystical Body ; as that which is precious in his sight, and was Redeemed from Corruption by no less a Price than his own Death, And as that which shall in a perfect Union with that other, though Nobler Part, enjoy Eternal Happiness, and the fulness of Joy for ever. And thus we shall leave the Body in this State of Rest and Hope, till the second Appearance of our Lord.

Secondly, Concerning the state of the Soul in Separation after Death, until the Resurrection, and the Benefits we have therein by the Union with

Christ:

Christ: And herein so far as the Word of God sheweth us, so far we may and must go: If we go farther, we are in the dark; and Conjectures are dangerous and uncertain, and such as we cannot build any sound Hope or Comfort upon. The Hope of a Christian is or should be, *a lively hope*, 1 Pet. 1. 3. *A firm hope*, and joyned with Confidence and Assurance, Heb. 3. 6. An Operative Hope, working the Heart to a Temper and Constitution suitable to it, 1 John 33. *He that bath this Hope purifieth himself.* A Hope that we may give a Man a reasonable account of, 1 Pet. 3. 15. And such a Hope as this is, must be bottomed upon living, sound, evident Principles. Conjectures, and Philosophical Discourses of things, that are not within the Help of a Natural Medium, to discover or climb up unto, breed but a weak faint Perswasion or Opinion, and therefore cannot be a Foundation of such a Hope. It is only Divine Revelation that can discover the thing in hand, or lay a foundation for such a Hope as makes not ashamed. So far therefore as the Scriptures of God reveal unto us, so far have we a found Foundation of Faith and Hope in the matter in hand. And, from them we learn,

1. That from the instant of Death, until the Resurrection, there is a State of the Separated Soul: and that it hath an Abiding Being, and Subsistence, notwithstanding such Separation; and this will most clearly appear by what follows.
2. That that State of the Soul of a True Christian, is, from the instant of its Separation, a State free from all Sin: And this freedom from Sin is not

not only a freedom from the Guilt and Imputation of Sin (for such a State the Soul hath in this Life) but a freedom from the Stain and Adherence of all Sin. Whiles the Soul hath its residence in the Body, there are two contrary Principles that move it, and work upon it. The Spirit and Grace of Christ working the Soul to the Likeness and Similitude of Christ, fashioning him in the Heart, and reforming it to the Image of God: And on the other side, the Sinful and Fleshly Appetite struggling to retain its domination and rule over the Soul, and bringing it into subjection to the Law of Sin. And from these contrary Principles ariseth a continual strife and contention in the Soul; Either Principle having some footing and ground in the Faculties and Powers of the Soul, Galat. 5. 17. *The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit lusteth against the Flesh, and these are contrary one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things ye would.* And from hence it is, though in the best of Men there be a prevalence of the Power of Grace in the Soul; So that the Domination and Power of the Flesh be controlled, Rom. 6. 14. and not only so, but the *Flesh is Crucified*, brought into Subjection, Gal. 5. 24. *They that are Christ's have Crucified the Flesh, with the affections and Lusts,* yet still the Flesh continues.

I. As an Impediment to the full and free working of the Spirit of God, or rather of the Soul to move according to it; for it is clogged with a *Body of Death*, Rom. 7. 24. Matth. 26. 41. *The Spirit is willing, but the Flesh is weak.* The Body and Soul, like Mezentius his Couples, consisting of a Dead and earthly part, as well as of a Living and Spiritual

tual part, whereby we cannot do the thing we would.

2. Notwithstanding the Prevailing Power of Grace in the Soul, the Flesh continues not only a Passive Impediment, as I may call it, but it hath still left in it a Counter-motion, it Lusteth against the Spirit ; and though the Spirit of Grace be the Prevailing Principle, yet the contrary Motion of a contrary Principle, cannot choose but impede and retard the Power of the contrary Motion, though it cannot altogether frustrate it : As we see when the Tyde comes in upon a Fresh River, though the Tyde prevail, yet the contrary Motion of the River doth hinder and retard the Tyde in its Motion ; though it cannot Conquer, yet it Interrupts it.

3. And not only so, but sometimes even in the best of Men, that natural Corruption of the Flesh, which grows Sullen by being Over-match'd with the Powerful Work of Grace upon the Soul, and seems dead : yet the Opportunity of a Temptation revives that seeming Dead Lust that was in us, that sometimes it returns upon them with Advantage. And so *this Law in the Members warring against the Law of the Mind*, by the Opportunity and Animation of a Temptation, brings us into Captivity to the Law of Sin which is in our Members, Rom. 7. 23. So that the best of Men neglecting their Guard, and being secure, have been, by this Law in the Flesh. Actuated by a Temptation, brought into the Commission of the worst of Sins.

So that the great hindrance to the thorough and perfect Sanctification of the Soul in this Life, is prin-

principally by the Adherence of the Body unto it ; and consequently of those Lusts and Passions that do accompany that Body. But by Death the Impediment is removed, the Counter-motion of the Flesh abolished, the Opportunity of Temptation by it taken away, and nothing doth hinder or retard the Soul from being Actuated, Moved, and Habituated, according to that Prevailing Principle of the Grace of Christ, which it had in it in this Life, and carries with it out of this Life : and in the Instant of the Dissolution, the whole Leven of Natural Corruption is cleansed out of the Soul : And *be that is thus dead is free from Sin*, Rom. 6. 7.

In this Life the Grace of Christ is as it were Fashioning and Moulding the Soul unto his Likeness ; And because the Flesh is a great Enemy unto this Work, our Lord's Counsel is, still to Weaken, Abate and Mortifie the Flesh, that hinders and interrupts the Energy and Work of the Spirit of God : So that we should, as much as may be, Die while we Live. The Day of Death is, as it were, the Birth-day of the Soul, when it falls off as a Seed that is ripe, and drops into a place of rest, and there it spends as it were, its Infancy, till it be ready for the Consummation of its happiness in the Resurrection. But still in that instant of Separation, it is like the Children of Tribulation, Revel. 7. 12. *Clothed with White Robes*, dipped in the Blood of Christ, and Sanctified throughout by the Spirit of Christ.

Thirdly, The Soul united unto Christ, immediately upon her Separation from the Body, is Translated into a place of Rest, and enjoys a Condition free from all Trouble, Sorrow and Misery, Revel. 14. 13. *They rest from their labours, and their works follow them.*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, The Soul doth not only enjoy a Negative Happiness, an Absence of all Misery; but, in the very Instant of the Dissolution is Translated to a condition of Blessedness Commensurate to the Capacity of the Soul; and enjoys the Vision of Christ in Glory, in a place of Glory and Happiness, Luke 17. 24. Lazarus's Soul was carried into Abraham's Bosom, and there did rest before the last Judgment: for the Rich Man's Brethren were then upon the Earth: Which, though it be a Parable, yet it imports the Blessed State of a Separate Soul, even before the last Judgment.

And that this is so, our Saviour's words upon the Cross unto the Crucified Thief import, Luke 23. 43. *Verily I say unto thee, to day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.* Wherein we have, First, The Time; *To Day*: before the Resurrection. Secondly, The Place; *In Paradise*: which is the very place of the Blessed: that which 2 Cor. 12. 2 is called *the third Heaven*, Vers. 4. is called *Paradise*. And Thirdly, The Presence; *with me in Paradise*, where the Glorious Soul of Christ was, 2 Cor. 5. 8. *We are confident, and willing to be absent from the Body, and to be present with the Lord.* Parallel to which, Philip. 1. 23. *Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better.* There is not a mean instant between the departure from the Body, and the local Presence with Christ. And certainly, the Soul enjoying the Presence of Christ, cannot want the Fullness of Happiness. The Soul must needs receive a continual Irradiation from his Glory: a continual Stream of Comfort and Delight must needs flow into the Soul from his Presence, the clear Manifestation of his Love and Favour. But yet according to the Measure of the Capacity of the

C Soul

Soul to receive, must needs be the Measure of what it receives: And therefore, doubtless, as the Soul in the State of Separation, cannot have the same Measure of Perfection as it shall have in its Re-union in the Resurrection; so consequently it cannot receive the like Measure of Blessedness as it then shall receive. Though the Blessedness be the same in Kind, and the same in Measure, yet the Soul hath not the same capacity to receive it, as when it is re-united perfectly to a perfect Body, by which the Soul will be enabled to act more perfectly than it did, or could in the state of Separation. The Soul enjoys a fullness of Comfort, and Rest, and Blessedness in the presence of Christ, according to the utmost capacity that it hath: But as her capacity, and the excellence of her operation shall be improved in the Resurrection, so shall the measure of her Happiness: The fullness and perfection of her fruition is reserved till then, Colos. 3. 3. *Our Life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our Life, shall appear, then shall we appear with him in Glory.* 1 John 3. 2. *Now we are the Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him: for we shall see him as he is.* The perfect Vision of Christ is referred till his last Appearance; and consequently the perfect Measure of our Glory and Blessedness. The Reception of that Glory into the Soul, is that which doth in a manner Transfigure, and Transform the Soul into the same Glory: and according to the Measure of that reception, so is the Measure of that Transformation. Here, in this Life, our Vision of it is as it were in a Glass, and therefore our Conformity unto it is the less, and more imperfect: In the state of Separation

paration of the Soul more is seen, and therefore the Soul more Irradicated: But in the Re-union of the Soul and Body, the State of the Soul is more perfect, and the Vision therefore more perfect, and consequently the Glory of the Soul and Body more perfect. Then we shall behold with open Face (not in a Glas as here) the Glory of the Lord: and so shall be changed into the same Image from Glory to Glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. 2 Cor. 3. 18. *We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.* The seeing of Christ as he is, is that which Imprints a Glory upon the Soul, as the Sight of God in the Mount, Imprinted a Brightness upon Moses's Face: And the more perfectly we see him, the greater is our Conformity to him: the more we receive of him, the more likeness we receive unto him. In the State of Separation the Soul receives a clearer Vision of Christ, than whilst she was in the Flesh; but not so full a Vision as she shall in the Resurrection. And therefore these Blessed Souls, Revel. 6. 9. are said to be under the Altar. So that though they had White Robes given unto them, yet they were, as it were, in the Court of the Temple: though in a State of nearness unto Christ, a State of Blessedness Commensurate to the Capacity of the Soul; yet not so fully and compleatly happy as in the Resurrection, when the Tabernacle of God shall be with Men, Revel. 21. 3. So that to conclude, we think, that according to the Scriptures, though the fullness and Perfection of the Glory of the Saints is reserved to the General Resurrection at the Second Appearance of Christ; yet the Blessed Souls departed do, in the Instant of their Separation, enjoy the Presence of Christ, and a Glorious Manifestation of his Glory and Presence unto

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them, in as full a Degree, and Measure of Happiness, as a Separate Soul is possibly capable of, and so much she is capable of, as makes her Happy and Glorious. And were there no more but this, it were enough not only to Conquer the Fear of Death, but to make it desirable to a Faithful Soul, so far as consists with our Submission to the Will of God, and that Duty of serving our Generation in this Life, which he requires of us.

There are Two Things that make us hang so much upon this Life, *viz.* *First*, The want of Faith, and Belief of this Truth of God, *viz.* That the Soul in the Immediate Instant of her Separation enjoys a State of Glory and Blessedness. The Shadow and Vale of Death doth interpose, and hinder our Souls from beholding that Country which is on the other side of that Vale. *Secondly*, The adherence of our Flesh, which doth and must know, that in the Region on the other side of Death, there is no room for it; no room for Sensual Pleasures and Delights, and Enjoyments, and therefore hangs back, and cannot with Patience think of it: And having in some measure tainted the Soul with those Affections and Lusts, makes her also unwilling to change her Station. And therefore I look upon Old Age as a great Blessing, even in this respect, that it wears out, and weakens those Strong Fleshly Corruptions, and Inclinations, which make us so much rest upon this Life: and gives us opportunity with less diversion of the Flesh, to entertain the Hopes and Expectation of the Blessed Estate of the Soul after death.

II. We come to consider the State of the Soul and Body, in and from the Instant of the Resurrection until

until the Last Judgment; and the Privilege that we have by Christ therein: And concerning it, thus far the Scriptures teach us to conclude.

1. That there shall be a Resurrection of the Bodies of all Men. This appears by the Scriptures of both Testaments; though more clearly in the New: Our Lord Jesus in the Gospel *having brought Life and Immortality to light*, viz. That Great Mystery of Life, and the Second Life and Immortality, which was more obscurely delivered in the Old Testament, Christ hath Unveiled, and positively and plainly declared the same. Balaam, though a Wizard, yet by what means we know not, was Inlightned to see many Truths, and Transported, even beyond himself, in the acknowledgment of them: And he seems to acknowledge this Truth, speaking of the Star of Jacob, Numb. 24. 17. *I shall see him, but not now.* Again, Job, who seems to be contemporary with that time, though none of the Twelve Tribes, but yet of the Children of Abraham, had this Truth by Tradition unquestionable, Job 19. 26, 27. *Though after my Skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my Flesh shall I see God.* Isaiah 26. 19. *Thy dead Men shall live, together with my dead Body shall they arise: Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast out the Dead. Thy dew is as the dew of Herbs;* a secret quickening quality, like that of the dew of Herbs, shall fall upon those dead Materials, and give them Life, Dan. 12. 2. *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the Earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt.* Many, 1. Importing their Multitude, not excluding any. 2. Many, Because we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed.

In the New Testament, this Truth is more clearly and distinctly asserted, *Mattb. 22. 29*. Our Saviour particularly, and *ex propposito* asserts it against the Sadduces, and declares the manner of their condition to be, *as the Angels of Heaven*. Again, *Mattb. 24. 31*. He describes the manner of it : *He shall send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather the Elect from the four Winds, from one end of Heaven unto the other*. Hence he calls them, *Luke 20. 36*. *Children of God, being Children of the Resurrection*. And it is plain, that the Disciples of Christ took this as an unquestionable Truth. *John 11. 23*. Jesus said unto her, *Thy Brother shall rise again*. *Martha* said unto him, *I know that he shall rise again at the Resurrection at the last day*. This great Truth, asserted by the Pharisees, contradicted by the Sadduces, *Acts 28. 8*. and unknown to the most Learned of the Gentiles ; *Paul* most excellently discovereth and asserteth, in his Sermon to the Athenians, enforcing it from the Power and Justice of God : And though it had but a coarse entertainment at the first, for some Mocked, others declined the present Disquisition of it, *Acts 17. 32*. yet doubtless it was the most proper Point, to convince the Ignorant World of ; it being such a Truth, as must of necessity put them upon solicitous Enquiries of their Future State, and quite change all the vain Decisions of the *Philosophers* : and therefore this Subject *Paul* chose to Dispute upon in the *Academy of Greece*. And though the Doctrine seemed at first Novel and Incredible, yet it doubtless left some Jealous Impressions upon their Minds, of the Truth and Consequents thereof : and that Jealousie made them the apter to entertain the listening to those Truths, which were in order

order to it. When in the Church of Corin^b, this Truth began to be called in Question, the Apostle, 1 Cor. 15. undertakes a settled Discourse of the Truth of it; which he evinceth by many Arguments: 1. From the Resurrection of Christ Je-
sus; which, First, He proves by unquestionable Evi-
dence; then Infers,

1. The Possibility of the Resurrection.

2. The Necessity of it.

The Possibility, intimated thus; If Christ be ri-
sen, then it is not impossible but the same Power
may raise up us. But Christ is risen: The former
Proposition is Evident; for it was no less than an
Omnipotent Power, that was required to the
Resurrection of Christ: and more than an Omnipo-
tent Power, is not, cannot be required to the Re-
surrection of us. The Second Proposition he eviden-
ceth beyond all contradiction: He instances in Four
several times of his Appearance after his Death;
To Cephas: To the 12 Disciples: To 500 Brethren at
once: And to himself. And as thus the Possibility of
our Resurrection stands proved by the Resurrection
of Christ: So, Secondly, The Necessity of it; Christ
*was declared the Son of God with Power, by the Resur-
rection from the Dead, Rom. 1. 4.*

And the end of his Mission into the World must
needs be some Work answerable to the Greatness
of his Person, and the Wonderfulness of it: Cer-
tainly, that the Eternal Son of God should take
upon him our Flesh, Live, Die, and Rise again, and
Ascend into Heaven, could not choose but be for
some notable end. A Wise Man never undertakes

any Great Action but for some Great End answerable to it : Much less certainly, would the Great God, the Fountain of all Wisdom, undertake such a busines as this, but for an End suitable to it. Now the End of God's sending of *Christ* into the World, is declared, *John 3. 16.* *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life.* But if there be no Resurrection, God shall be disappointed in this great End of the Mission of his Son: For it is evident, that in this Life, little advantage is wrought for the Disciples of *Christ*. They meet with Persecutions, Wants, Necessities, Barbarous Usage, Untimely Death oftentimes, *Vers. 19.* *If in this Life only we have hope, we are of all Men most miserable.* And if no Resurrection, then they that are fallen asleep in *Christ* are perished, *Vers. 18.*

Therefore since the Salvation of Men, was the End of the Mission of *Christ* into the World; The End of the Almighty and Wise God, who hath Infinite Wisdom to contrive Means to compass his own ends; Infinite Power to effect and bring them to pass, and to remove all Obstacles that may hinder the effecting thereof: And since it is plain, that the Salvation of the Servants of *Christ*, is not in this World, but must of necessity be in some future State after this Life: And since neither the Light of Nature, nor the Light of Scripture, do shew us any other way, to the attaining of that happy Condition after this Life, in that full and compleat measure, but by the Resurrection: Therefore there is a necessity of a Resurrection, that Man might not lose his Happiness, nor God the Glory of his Wisdom and Power, in the Redemption of Man by his own Son.

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The next Argument of the *Necessity* of our Resurrection from the Resurrection of Christ, stands in the Comparison of Christ and Adam together; and the Relation that each have to their Dependents. Adam stood as a Mediator of the First Covenant, for Himself and All his Seed: And hence it was, that by His Sin, death passed upon Him, and upon All his Posterity. This is the scope of the Apostle here, *Vers. 22.* and more fully and at large, *Rom. 5. 12. & sequentibus.*

Now the Transition of Guilt and Death from Adam unto us, rested upon a double Union between him and us. 1. An Union by Natural Generation. 2. An Union by way of Representation. Both these were requisite to transferr the disadvantage of his Sin upon us. For if the former had been wanting, it had been an unreasonable thing that the stipulation of him to whom I had no Relation, upon whom I had no dependance, to whom I gave no Commission, should inure to my disadvantage. If the second had been wanting, it had not been agreeable to that Rule of Justice, that the Lord himself was pleased to own, *Ezek. 18. The Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father.* And because the Justice of this may the fuller appear, and the difference between the State of Adam, in relation to all his Posterity, and the State of a Father now in Relation to his Children; We may consider these differences.

1. Adam was constituted in so perfect and free a condition, that he was most exquisitely fitted to be the Mediator of a Covenant, between God and himself, and all his Posterity. But our Parents are not constituted in such a condition, they want that Per-

Perfection of Knowledge, and Freedom of Will, as was in our First Parents. Since the Fall, the Descendants from *Adam* are corrupted in their Wills, and in their Judgments; and so not fit to be Representatives for the binding of their Posterity, as *Adam* was.

2. As *Adam* was a Representative for his Posterity for their *Ill*, in Case of *Disobedience*; so he was for their *Good*, in case of *Obedience*. A Stock of Blessedness Transmissible to his Posterity, was deposited freely, By the Free Goodness of God, without any desert in Man, for the advantage of him and all his Descendants; For it is most evident, that even in the State of Innocence, the Law of Propagation of his kind, was given to Man as well as to the other Creatures, Gen. i. 28. So that as his Posterity might have had *disadvantage* by his Fall, so they might have *advantage*, in case he continued in his Integrity, viz. the Transmission of that happy and perfect Condition that *Adam* had, subject nevertheless to a Personal Liberty, as *Adam* was. But it is not so now with us: Our Parents can Transmit to us their Posterity, nothing but a State of Sin, and Defect, and Misery: So that as they are unfit to be Mediators, or Representatives for us, in respect of their Defect; So it were unequal they should be such, because they would be necessarily Mediators to our *Disadvantage*, not possibly to our *Advantage*.

2. Again, a Representative, or Mediator between God and Man, could not be without the Institution and Acceptation of God; he having filled our First Parents with such Ability and Equality,

lity, was pleased to accept him as a Stipulator for himself and his Descendants, and constitute him such. But he hath not so appointed in other Descendants from him. And herein we may see the Justice and Goodness of God, who, though he be the Absolute, and Uncontrollable Lord of all his Creatures, to whom he is not bound by any Rule of Justice; yet when he was pleased to take *Adam* for a common Stipulator, for his Posterity as well as Himself, he fits him with most Exquisite Purity, Wisdom, and Ability, such as could never be overmatched by his Posterity, had he continued in Innocence; and puts into his hand a full Stock of Blessedness for him and his Descendants, before he admits him to Stipulate for the Good or Evil of his Posterity. But when that fails, as it doth with the Descendants from *Adam*, his Rule of Justice is, *The Son shall not beat the Iniquity of the Father.*

Thus far we see the Union, between *Adam* and us, whereby, while he ate the Bitter Fruits, our Teeth are set on Edge; and yet Almighty God most exactly just therein. Now our Lord *Christ* became a Second *Adam*, the Mediator of the Second Covenant: *As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive*, Vers. 22. Now as God was pleased to put into the Hands of the First *Adam*, a Stock of Life, and Blessedness, under a Covenant for him and his Posterity, which were included in him by the Law of Natural Generation; so he put into the Hands of *Christ*, the Mediator of the Second Covenant, a Stock of Life and Blessedness for his Seed, by Supernatural Regeneration, Vers. 47. *As the First Adam was made a living Soul, so the Second was made a quickning Spirit*, John 5. 26. As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son

Son to have life in himself: a quickening Life, John 5. 21. *The Son quickeneth whom he will*. Quickening not only to a Life of Grace here, but to a Life of Immortality and Glory hereafter. John 6. 54. *Who so eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day,* Vers. 57. *As I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, shall live by me.* A Life as in the Fountain habitually there, but actually exercising it self in the Branches united to him, John 11. 25. *I am the Resurrection, and the Life, whosoever believeth in me, tho' he were dead yet shall be live.* And as the Life that is in the Root, is that which gives Life to the Branch, and the means of deriving this Life is the Union between the Stock and the Branch, and the Interception of this Life from the Branch, is the Disunion or Separation of the Branch from the Root; so that Life of Grace in the Soul, and of Immortality in the Resurrection, is by virtue of this Union with the Root Christ, John 15. 5. *I am the Vine, ye are the Branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit.* And as the Life of the Branch is hid in the Root, so our Life is hid with God in Christ, Coloss. 3. 3. Now because Union is the means of our everlasting Life in Christ, as it was of Temporal and Everlasting Death in Adam; So we shall find between Christ and his Branches, a Parallel Union to that between Adam and his Posterity. 1. An Union, though not by way of Natural Generation, yet by way of Supernatural Regeneration: As Adam had his Seed, so Christ hath his Seed, Isai. 53. 10. *He shall see his Seed.* John 3. 3. *Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.* Born of an Immortal Seed, & Pet. 1. 23. *Being born not of a Corruptible Seed, but*

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of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever. Formed into the Image of Christ the Immortal Son of God. Fed with an Immortal Food. John 6. 51. *I am the living bread which came down from Heaven: if any Man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.* And this Immortality resteth upon this ground, John 6. 56. *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* That is, is united to me, as the Branch is to the Root: And that Life that is in the Root is transmitted into the Branch: And it shall be as impossible for that Branch to die, as long as it stands thus united, as it is impossible for the Root to die.

But still this is a Spiritual Union, a Conjunction of the Soul and Spirit unto Christ. The Union between Adam and his Posterity, and between Christ and his Seed, agree in this, that they were both Unions unto them as to the Root: And by virtue of that Union, there was a Transmission of their Conditions to those that were thus united unto them. Death from Adam to his Seed; Life by Christ to his Seed. Yet the manner of that Union differs: That, a Birth of the Flesh; this, a Birth of the Spirit. John 3. 6. *That which is born of the Flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.* John 6. 63. *The words that I speak, they are spirit, and they are life.* This therefore is that Posterity, as I may call them, of Christ Jesus, not born of the Flesh, but of the Spirit, viz. such as by his Grace sent into, and everlasting abiding in their Souls, are wrought to the Love of God by him, to the Obedience of his Will, to a Conformity to Christ the Image of the Invisible God, in all the Inclinations, Dispositions, and Habits of their Souls: and so transplanted from that State of Rebellion

bellion and Disobedience unto God, into the Kingdom of God, and the voluntary subjection unto his Will, in which they are preserved by the same abiding Spirit of Christ, that resides in them, and will go along with them through Death. And this Seed of Life abiding in them, will at last quicken the Body, and raise it up unto Eternal Life, in a perpetual Conjunction with the Soul, as it did quicken the Body of Christ, and resumed it into an inseparable blessed Union with his Soul unto all Eternity.

And as thus the Union between Christ and a Believer, by Supernatural Regeneration, stands parallel to that between Adam and his Posterity, by Natural Generation; So there is also an Union of Representation between Christ and those that believe on him: differing in this; That whereas Adam represented his Posterity without any actual choice of theirs, but only as they were virtually included in him; But in this Representative, Christ Jesus, First, There is a voluntary Susception of his: He freely undertakes the business of this Great Covenant between God and Man: Receives all Good for them from him: Receives and undertakes to bear all their Evil for them. And thus he loved us first; and we chose not him, but he chose us. But, Secondly, Being drawn unto him by the Power of God: *For none comes unto him except the Father draw him*, John 6. 44. then we run after him. And his People become willing in the day of his Power, Psal. 110. and then as he chooseth us for his Redeemed, so we chose him for our Mediator: Venture our loss and gain upon his Negotiation with the Father for us: venture our Souls upon his Fidelity and Interest in the Father: *If we perish we perish: If we*

we live we live. Swear dependance upon ; submiſſion unto him ; Obedience to his Command ; Faith in his Promises. And thus he becomes our Mediator, our Representative with God, by our own choice; though that choice of ours be not wrought by our own strength. And so there is wrought this Civil Union between Christ and the Believer, by the Mutual Stipulation of either: Christ undertaking to be his Peace-maker, and he undertaking to cast himself upon him for Life and for Salvation.

Now to inforce the Necessity of the Resurrection upon this consideration, Verse 28. *As in Adam all die: so in Christ shall all be made alive.* Thus he was the figure of him that was to come. Rom. 5. 14. The Argument stands thus: God was pleased to give unto the First Adam, a Stock of Immortality and Blessedness transmissible from him to his Posterity: under a Covenant, that if he stood in his Integrity, that this Blessedness should be transmitted to his Posterity: If he broke the Covenant, then, instead of Blessedness and Immortality, both he and his Posterity should lose that Blessedness and Life, and become subject to Temporal and Eternal Death and Misery. Christ, the Second Adam, made a new Covenant with God for his Seed, for a Restitution of Life and Blessedness unto them: And here is the difference which is to our advantage: the Life and Blessedness was not restored in this Life, but in a Life that should succeed after this. The Covenant between God and our First Parents was more Literal, and the Fruit of it, a Life here without Misery, and a Translation into Glory: The Covenant in Christ more Spiritual, and the Fruit of it, a Life here, in the Love of God, and a Resurrection after Death unto Glory.
And

And the Resurrection of our Saviour was a Pledge of our Resurrection : *He became the first-fruits of them that slept :* And also a cause of our Resurrection. We are risen together with him, by virtue of our Union unto him, as of the Members unto the Head : His Resurrection is ours, by virtue of our Union unto him, by way of Participation, and shall be the cause of our Resurrection in a Personal Fruition. It is not consistent with the Perfection of the Workings of God, that our Head should live in Glory and Incorruption, and yet his Members be cloathed with Rottēness and Corruption. Therefore as Christ our Head, in whom our Life is hid, hath Conquered Death by his Resurrection; so in due time shall we that are his Members. Yet *1 Cor. 15. 23. Every Man in his own order : Christ the first-fruits ; and afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming.*

The next Argument of the Apostles, though secretly intimated, is from the Justice of God, who is Holy in all his Ways, and Righteous in all his Works. Verse 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. *If after the manner of Men, I have fought with Beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not ? Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.* As if he should thus say ; The Doctrine of Christ is a Doctrine full of Purity, Holiness and Justice : such a Doctrine as even the Heathens themselves cannot choose but admire : And as far out-goes the exactest Morals of the severest Philosophers, as theirs exceeds Barbarism and Licentiousness. Yet the Disciples and Professors of Christ have this Legacy given by their Master, Blessedness hereafter, but Persecution in this Life, *John 16. 33. In the World ye shall have Tribulation.* Luke 9. 23. *Whosoever will be my Disciple, must*

must take up his Cross, and die daily, and follow me,
2 Tim. 3. 12. All that will live Godly in Christ Jesus
must suffer persecution. And I have found my Savi-
our's words true, Vers. 31. I die daily. And cer-
tainly, if I should measure the excellency of the
Doctrine, by the success that the Professors thereof
have in this life, I should prefer the Position of the
Epicure, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall
die.* Take the advantage of the Pleasure, and Con-
tentment that this World affords, while we have
opportunity of life: and look upon Death as ever-
lasting dissolution, without expectation of a future
account. But if I should say thus, I should plainly
evidence that I have not the Knowledge of God, v. 34.
He is a pure God, and delights in what is like himself.
Certainly he would never suffer the True
Professors and Practisers of Purity, Justice, and
Holiness, to lie under the worst of Miseries in
this Life, unless he had reserved unto them a State
of Blessedness after this Life: Shall not the Judge
of all the World do right? And this was that great
Conclusion which Solomon, the wisest of Men made,
upon an exact observation of the variety of the
Dispensations of Providence in this Life: Sentence
not speedily executed against an evil work, Eccles. 8. 11.
Just Men to whom it hapneth according to the work of
the wicked: and wicked Men to whom it hapneth ac-
cording to the work of the Righteous, Eccles. 8. 14.
The place of Judgment, that wickedness was there; and
the place of Righteousness, that Iniquity was there, Eccles.
3. 16. The tears of the Oppressed, that they had no Com-
forter, and on the side of the Oppressors there was Power,
Eccles. 4. 1. One Event to the Righteous and to the
Wicked, Eccles. 9.2. So that no Man knoweth either
Love or Hatred, by all that is before him, Eccles. 9. 1.

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Upon

Upon this consideration of the most exact and unmixed Purity and Justice of God, and yet upon variety of the course of Providence in this Life, seeming, as it were, to thwart, and break the Rule of that Justice; he frames his Conclusion in the latter end of his Survey, Eccles. 12. 13. *Let us bear the Conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole duty of Man. For God shall bring every work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

The Apostles next Argument, is at once an Argument to prove the Resurrection, and an Answer to the Objection of a Naturalist, Vers. 35. *Some will say, How are the Dead raised, and with what Bodies shall they come?* This Objection runs thus; The Rules and Experience of Natural Observations, tell us, That from a Total Privation, there is no regress to the first Subsistence: How therefore shall the Dead arise? If the Soul assume another Body, it is no Resurrection: and to assume the same is absurd and impossible. Do we not see the Bodies of Men mangled into Pieces, and some of them become Meat to Fowls, others to Beasts, others to Fish, and mixed with their Substance? And those again, it may be, become the Food of other Men, turned into their own Blood and Spirits, and it may be, become the Particles of another Generation. And those Bodies that have the most solemn Interment, do resolve into their First Elements; and those very Particles of this Resolution, by a Thousand Mutations, become parts of other mixt Bodies, and, it may be at last, Ingredients of the Constitution of other Men. A small Contemplation can follow the Dust of the Great *Alexander;*

der, to some inconsiderable and low Employment? How then shall the Dead be raised, and with what Bodies shall they arise? If the Soul shall resume its own Body, it may fall so, that it cannot be done without injury to another Body, that claims the same Privilege of a Resurrection.

This is that which made the *Athenians* the Seat of the greatest Philosophers of Greece, and the chieftest Academy of the World, to Mock, when they heard of the Resurrection; And this is that Objection which the Apostle here Answers: And because the Objection is made by Persons that subscribe not to the Authority of Scriptures, nor to the Truth of the Gospel, he useth another kind of *Medium* to evince the possibility and truth of the Resurrection, than what he before had used: And Answers an Objection framed upon *Sense* and *Natural Reason*, by Instances and Inferences drawn from the same Principles: By which he discovers these Two things.

1. That Death, though it be a Total Privation, doth not exclude the possibility of a Resurrection: which Answers the first part of the Question, *How shall the Dead be raised?*

2. That though it be true, the Form of the Body be changed, and resolved into Corruption; yet the Body that shall be raised shall not be subject thereto: which Answers the Question, *With what Bodies shall they arise?*

Now touching the *First*; That notwithstanding a Body is deprived of that Form which it hath, and die^s; yet it is not impossible there should be a Resurrection thereof.

First, It is plain, that though there might be an impossibility thereof, on the part of the Subject, yet there is no impossibility thereof, in regard of the Supreme Efficient: He that made all things of nothing, can much more of something make the same that it was. It is easily demonstrable, that all things were at first Created by the Supreme Efficient: and that there was a First Man, that had his beginning in time. The Scripture shews us, how he made him of the Dust of the ground: And *Natural Reason*, though it cannot without Revelation shew us the manner How, yet it must most evidently conclude, that he was made either of nothing, or of such a substance that had in it self no disposition nor power to form it self into that subsistence which it after had. But the Supreme Omnipotent cause of all things formed him by his Power and Wisdom, either out of nothing, or out of such a something, as required Omnipotence it self to make it what it after was.

But *Secondly*, To return to the Apostle's Argument, evidencing the Power of God extending to the Resurrection of Man, in the ordinary and most obvious course of his Providence: which, though it be Ordinary, yet it is such as without the Original Omnipotent Power of God, could never come to pass, Verse. 36. *Thou Fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.* We converse every day with Wonders and Miracles no less admirable; if rightly consider'd, than many of those Points of Faith which a Naturalist will not believe. For the Footsteps of the Omnipotency and Wisdom of God, are in every thing we see and hear: Only here

here is the blindness of Mankind that he looks not diligently into things of ordinary concurrence, but passeth them over of course. If the Sun should stand still but one hour, it were a thing that all the World would observe, and be astonished at ; yet the continual motion of the same is a greater Miracle, if rightly consider'd, than that. And if we give our selves to the observations of things of Nature, as we call them ; the ordinary sort of Men rest barely in Sense and experience. The Farmer casts his Corn in the Ground, because he finds by experience it produceth a Crop the next Summer. And that more observant rank of Men, the *Natural Philosophers* Observations are indeed more curious : but when all is done by them, it is but a more vigilant employment of their Senses: And so far as their Sense can carry them, so far they are able to give a better account of the Reason of things, than others that are less observant. But where once that fails, the Reasons of things which they assay to give, are such insipid, uncertain conjectures, that nothing of Truth can be built upon them. The very Inquiries that might be made upon a Fly, or a Grain of Corn (the instance of the Text) is able to gravel and confound the greatest Master of reason that ever was: And he must, if he will be but Ingenuous, and not go about to please himself, or delude others by ungrounded fancies, acknowledge that in these small ordinary, trivial dispositions of Natural Effects, there is the Finger and Word of Omnipotence it self. And hence it is that Almighty God, when he would convince Job of the Narrowness of his Understand, Reads him a Lecture upon those Creatures and Things which were of ordinary occurrence, and, from them demonstrates the Infinite

Power, Majesty, and Wisdom of God. Job had often heard the Wind, seen the Rain, felt his Clothes warm, seen the Lightning, heard the Thunder, Discoursed with Men of Reason; and yet because they were things of daily Conversation, he passed them over, and did not consider them: He took them in the Lump, and in the Ear, but never sifted out the Corn till God mentions them distinctly to him, and doubtless with it did infuse into his Soul, a deliberate, clear, distinct observation of the things that were mentioned: And then he could Read another Lesson of the Wisdom and Omnipotence of God in those Creatures and things which were of ordinary Occurrence. And upon the same account it is, that when God was pleased to set forth the Excellence of his Power, in putting Understanding into the heart of Man; he sends us not to consider of the Wisdom of the great Statesman, or the Learning of the Profound Scholar: But tends us to that Simple Discretion, that without any Improvements or Arts, or Learning, appears in the Plowman in Threshing of his Corn, Isai. 23. 29. *This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, who is wonderful in Counsel, and excellent in Working.* And accordingly here the Apostle chides the Inadvertence and Inconsiderateness of the Naturalist, who hath every day an Experiment before him, but little behind the Strangeness and Wonder of the Resurrection; and yet takes no notice of it to allay his Infidelity: *Thou Fool, that which thou sowest is not quickned except it die.* As if he should say, Thou that makest this objection dost not consider what thou sayest. Thou hast every day in thy view the Corn that thou sowest: and the Bread thou eatest, carries in it a wonder,

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not much inferior to this whereof we treat. Yet because this is common, thou art blind, and dost not observe it : Thy Corn dies before it lives. And now suppose thou hadst never seen nor heard of any such thing, as that Corn, or any other Seed cast into the Ground in *October*, should in *August* following live again, with an increase of 100 Fold; and this were now told thee. Would not thy narrow Reason frame the same Objection, *How shall it arise, and with what Body?* And wouldst thou not count the Plowman Mad that buries his Corn, in expectation of a Resurrection of it the next year? But now common Observation and Experience hath made that credible and evident unto thee, And canst thou not, out of that experience, find an Argument to check thy own Infidelity in the point in hand? What Reason canst thou assign, that this Grain of Corn should have such a Seed of life in it, that though the Body, the Grain in which it is inclosed, dissolve; yet the Energy of that Vegetative Principle, can cause a new Stalk, and attract a nourishment suitable unto it? Or what is that Seed of Life that is in it, whence comes it? Tell me if thou canst resolve it into any thing but the Mighty Power and Word of the Omnipotent God: And cannot the same Omnipotent reconcile Life unto thy corrupted Eody?

But to come to the instance it self, and to follow it: These things are asserted, and most exactly true in Nature, concerning this grain of Corn.

First, That the grain of Corn dies: *It is not quickened except it die.* That is, the matter of it is corrupted and there is a Separation between that Mat-

ter of the Grain, and that Seed of Life, or Vegetative Principle that is in it.

Secondly, That it is quickened; *viz.* The same thing that dies is again quickned. The Principle of Life that lay as it were asleep in it, Revives, Resumes, and Attracts so much of the Body of that Grain as is serviceable for it, to serve this Principle of Life in its Acts of Life and Growth. For it is most evident, in ordinary experience, that Vegetable Principle, by the help of Moisture, will draw out the Substance of the Grain, though it be not cast into the Earth: So that the very Life of the Seed borrows as much of the Grain of Corn to secure its New Life, as is fit and useful for it.

Thirdly, That that Quickning cannot be, unless the Grain dies, *viz.* So much as is taken in unto the New Growth, ceaseth to be a Grain of Corn, or indeed parcel of a Grain of Corn, but assumes a New Shape: and yet still it is the same Grain of Corn that died, and is now quickned: The same Vegetative Principle that lay lurking and secret in the Grain of Corn before it grows, and puts it self forth in Act, and the same substance that was before a Grain of Corn it attracted and fashioned into the Stalk and Ear, though it received an Accession of Increase, the Vegetative Principle that was in the Grain of Corn, cannot put forth it self into Act, except there come something that must bring a degree of Corruption of the Grain from what it was, and fit it to be serviceable unto, and attend the motion of this Vegetative Principle, *viz.* Moisture, which corrupts the Body of the Grain.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That yet though this New Production be the same Vegetative Principle, that lay unactive in the Grain of Corn, and the same Matter that was in the Grain of Corn, attracted unto, and accompanying this Vegetative Principle, yet it is not the same that it was: not the same in External form and appearance; it is one single Grain when it is Sown; and after it is Sown, the Husk which served to inclose, and defend the Vegetable Matter, and Vegetative Form, rots, when it becomes useless, but it riseth in Beauty; First a Stalk, then the Ear, then Flower: So, though it be the same Individual Matter, the same Individual Vegetative Principle that it was before, yet it is altered in the Appearance, in the Beauty, in the Advantage of Increase: Before it was a Grain, now it is a Herb, including many Grains.

Fifthly, Though it thus be alter'd from what it was; it is not alter'd specifically, but every Seed hath its own Body: the Grain of Barley bears a Body of Barley, and the Grain of Wheat a Body of Wheat. Thus the Matter is the same, the Spirit or Individual Form is the same, the Species or Kind is the same, though the External Appearance or fashion of it differs from what it was.

Sixtly, And all this by the Finger and power of God: God hath given it a Body as it hath pleased him though, as we before observed, the progress of the Generation of Vegetables is for the most part regular and uniform: and the same being ordinary, and found by experience to be so, it is made a matter of no wonder. The Country-Man

Man knows, that if his Corn be cast into the Ground, and there be seasonable Moisture, it will the next Summer become a Crop, and so it is past over as a matter of no Marvel: We see it so every ear: Yet if we should examine how or by what means there comes such a Vegetable Principle in a small inconsiderable Grain of Corn, that all the Men in the World cannot tell what it is, much less frame the like by all their power and skill: How it comes to pass that the same will lie unactive, and unmoving a year or two, or more, in that little Body, and yet when it hath the opportunity of Moisture, thrust out it self: How it attracts and draws the substance of the Grain it self after it, to feed and serve it: And when it hath assimilated the whole to what it is, it attracts from the Earth supplies convenient for it, and assimilates these supplies to it self and its own nature, and carries them along to that action to which it is design'd. And how it comes to pass, that in all this, it moves uniformly unto one end. First produceth the Blade, then the Stalk, and when that hath strength enough to bear, and heighth enough to defend, it sends forth the Ear; and till that Ear is proof against the Cold, closes it with a Husk: And in that Ear the Corn specifical, according to its Nature, the Grain of Wheat brings Wheat, and the Grain of Barley brings out Barley, and their kinds are not confounded. And as the Grain is suitable in kind to the seed, so in the manner of its placing upon the Stalk, and that in that excellent order, both for its own conservation and use, that any alteration thereof would be to the disadvantage of it, and the User. And all this so certainly, constantly, and universally (without

out some accidental impediment) and that without any choice or understanding of its own to dispose it to what it is. Certainly, this most ordinary Creature, which we converse with every day, must needs drive us to acknowledge the Almighty Wisdom and Power of God, to which alone, and to nothing else, we can resolve this ordinary, but wonderful production: And to the virtue of that Powerful Word and Commission of his, which hath continued in its strength, without any intermission, for above Five thousand years, Gen. i. 12. *Let the Earth bring forth Grass, and every Herb yielding Seed after his kind.*

Now, from this Instance, and Resemblance, the Apostle Answers that Curious Inquisition, *How shall the Dead be raised, and with what Bodies shall they arise?* For if it be well consider'd, the great work of the Resurrection hath many things in it very suitable and parallel to this Resemblance of this Grain of Corn.

First, As the very same Spirit of Life, as I may call it which was in the Grain of Corn before it was sown, is that which animates and actuates the Herb that springs out of it, and by it: So it is the very same Individual Soul that shall animate, and actuate the Body in the Resurrection. Here indeed is the odds, the Life or Soul, as I may call it, of the Seed, is thrown with it into the Ground, and is never separated from it till it draw it with it: But the Soul of Man is separated from the Body; the Body sown in the Earth, the Soul reserved in a place of Bliss or Misery, according to its condition, till Rejoined unto the Body.

Secondly,

Secondly, As when the Seed is cast into the ground and dies the Vital Flower in the Seed attracts the very same substance of the Grain, and carries it along with it into the Stalk and the Ear: So the Soul of Man shall again assume the very same Body, and be united unto it in the Resurrection. It is that very Body that is sown in Corruption, which shall rise in Incorruption, Job 19. 26. Though after my skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh I shall see God. The Body destroyed, yet the same Flesh shall see God: My Body destroyed, yet my Flesh shall see. For as the same Persons that shall be living at the Second Coming of Christ, shall not die, but be changed, 1 Cor. 15. 17. That is, though there be an alteration of the Qualities and Condition of the Body, yet the Substance shall remain; So in the Resurrection, the Bodies of them that sleep shall be the same, though Cloathed with Glory and Incorruption. The Resurrection of Lazarus, of the Saints at Christ's Resurrection, of our Saviour; as they were Pledges; so they are in this respect, Patterns of our Resurrection: they were the same Bodies reanimated with the same Souls. It is true, the manner of this strange Reduction of a dissolved Creature, unto it self again, is too difficult for us to apprehend; and 'tis no wonder it should be so: For we see the Transmutation of the Silk-worm, and Creatures of the like nature: That there are such changes of them it is plain; yet the reason or cause of it, the poor Worm understands not; Nay, nor Man, that is a Superior Creature, endued with Understanding. Ordinarily, things that are without us, are more obvious to our observation, or disquisition, than we our selves are to our

our own observation : And yet even in these Translations of Vegetables, and of the lowest degree of Sensible Creatures, we must acknowledge the hand and power of God, and that is the last Resolution of our best Observation.

But when we come to our selves, there our Discoveries are more imperfect, because the Observation is more difficult. All the Knowledge we have of our own Original, is but by Tradition from those that knew us Born ; and by Observation that other Men have the like Original of their Being. But take a Child from his Infancy, and let him receive an Education estranged from this Tradition, he will not be able barely, from the strength of Reason, to know that his Original was by the ordinary course of Generation. Again, when our Experience and Information tells us, that we came into the World by the course of Natural Generation ; yet we are not able to shape unto our selves a reason, *why*, or *how*, a Humane Creature is so produced, but must sit down with Solomon the Wisest of Men, and conclude, *That we know not the way of the Spirit, nor how the Bones do grow in the Womb of her that is with Child*, Eccles. 2. 5. And therefore those that have been over-bold in searching into that Wonder of the Generation of Animals, tell us, It is not this, nor it is not that ; but what it is they cannot determine: Or if they do, yet their Determinations are such, as convince not of the Truth of what they say. Their History, or Narrative thereof, can go no farther than their bare sense leads them ; and where that fails, either they are silent, or guided by meer imagination. And certainly, if there be so much difficulty, and indeed impossibility, to discover the true cause, or manner
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of the first Origination of a Man, of a Worm , of a Straw ; wherein we have the help of our Senses ; Observations of our own ; and Traditions of others : How then shall we expect to shape unto our selves, a Conception of the manner of the Resurrection, a New Birth of the Body to what it was before ? And hence, *Luke 20. 36.* They are called *Children of the Resurrection*. Therefore I shall not perplex my self with Inquiring, How the pieces of the Body, distracted into several places that have undergone Millions of Transmutations, shall be brought together without violation of those substances to whom they have been united : Or whether by some secret Power of Providence, those parts of Humane Flesh shall not be subject to a Transmutation, or Transition into another Substance : Or how that Separation shall be wrought : Or what parts of the Body shall be the Substance of the Body in the Resurrection. These are matters that are unnecessary, and should be left to the Almighty Power of God. We know not the things obvious to our Sense, much less these matters that are reserved in the Cabinet of the Councel of the Almighty, who knows all the Works that he has made ; and the least dust is not estranged from his distinct knowledge. Only thus much we may and must conclude with *Job*, as before, *Though after my Skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my Flesh I shall see God.*

Thirdly, To follow the Comparison ; It is not quickned except it die. And herein the Comparison falls short. For though those that die shall be quickned , yet some shall be quickned that have not died. *We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed,*

changed, Vers. 51. *We which are alive, and remain at the coming of our Lord, shall not prevent them that Sleep,* 1 Thess. 4. 15, 17. At that same instant wherein the Trumpet shall Sound, *The Dead shall bear the Voice of God, and be raised, and the Living shall be changed.*

Fourthly, That as in the growth of the Grain, though the Substance remain, yet the Form or Shape is changed: So in the Resurrection, *That which was Sown a Corruptible Body, shall be Raised in Incorruption: Sown in Dishonour, Raised in Glory: Sown in Weakness, Raised in Power: Sown a Natural Body. Raised a Spiritual Body,* Vers. 41, 42, 43. And therefore there are these several qualities of the Body in the Resurrection.

First, *Incorruption.*

Secondly, *Glory, or Splendor.*

Thirdly, *Strength.*

Fourthly, *Spirituality.*

First, For *Incorruption*; It is true, by the Ordinary Course of Nature, Whatever is subject to Generation, is subject to Corruption. But yet it is in the Power of God that gave it Being, to Preserve and Uphold that Being unto Everlasting.

Thus are the Angels Incorruplicable, not simply and absolutely of their own Nature; but the Will of God preserves that Being in their Original Constitution.

stitution. The Heavens and Earth have a certain but long continued duration ; but still it is by the *Word*, the Power of God, 2 Pet. 3. 7. Thus the Bodies of our First Parents in Innocence, were uncapable of Corruption, not in their own Nature, or by the Innate Qualities of their Bodies, but by a Continued Act of Divine Power and Providence, supplying the Defects and Decays of Nature, and Correcting the Opposites to its Con-sistence. And as it is the same Power that preserves the Times of Particular Men to an Ordinary Measure of Age, *viz.* 60 or 80 years ; so it was that which did preserve the Bodies of the Antients before the Flood, unto Ten times that Age. As their Breath was given unto them, so it was pre-served in them, and is called from them, by the same Infinite Power of God. Psal. 104. 29. *Thou takest away their Breath, they die and return to their dust.* And as the Providence and continual In-fluence of the Divine Will and power, is that which maketh the Soul Immortal ; so the same Influence shall in, and after the Resurrection, preserve the Body and Soul in a Perpetual and Incorruptible Union and Condition. And this Condition of the Resurrection is common both to the Good and Bad : The Bodies of the Wicked are indued with Incorruptibility, that they may be Subjects capable of an Everlasting Wrath : *Their worm never dies, nor the fire never goes out,* Mark 9. 44. *The Beast and the False Prophet shall be tormented Day and Night for ever and ever,* Revel. 20. 10. And on the o-ther side, the Elect of God shall be indued with Immortal and Incorruptible Bodies, that they may be fit Subjects of an everlasting and Incor-ruptible Blessedness : *They shall reign for ever and ever,*

ever, Revel. 22. 5. So shall we be ever with the Lord, 1 Thess. 4. 17. As the Inheritance is an Incorrumpible Inheritance, that fadeth not away, 1 Pet. 1. 4. So the Inheritors thereof are Incorrumpible Inheritors, born of an Incorrumpible Seed, 1 Pet. 1. 23. Plants fixed in an Uncorrumpible Root, Christ Jesus, John 15. 6. And because that Root liveth, we shall live also, John 14. 19. And hence it is, that this Body which is, and shall be the Tabernacle or House of the Soul, is called a Building of God, a House not made with hands, but eternal in the Heavens: wherein Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life, 2 Cor. 5. 1. 4. And indeed it is not consistent with Perfect Blessedness, to have the Subject thereof capable of Corruption. The fear and expectation of a Second Dissolution, would mingle Unhappiness and Sorrow with the most Absolute Enjoyment of the Highest Felicity, and abate it.

The Second Quality of the Body in the Resurrection, is Glory and Beauty. It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in Glory. And this is a privilege that belongs only to the Members of Christ Jesus, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashioned like unto his own Glorious Body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself, Philip. 3. 21. Thus as that Converlation of Moses, with the eminent Manifestation of God's Presence in the Mount, did Imprint a Splendor and Glory upon the Face of Moses, so that the Israelites were not able to behold him, Exod. 34. 29. So we, by virtue of our Union with Christ our Glorious Head, and by the Intuition of his Glory, shall be changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory, 2 Cor. 3. 18. And what Daniel speaking of the Resurrection, saith,

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shall be true, even in the very Bodies of the Saints. *Dan. 12. 3. They that be wise shall shine as the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever.* And certainly we have good ground to think, that the Bodies of the Saints in the Resurrection shall bear some resemblance to the Transfigured Body of our Saviour, *Matth. 17. 2. Whose Face shone as the Sun, and his Rayment white as the Light.* That as our Redeemer's Body shines as the Sun in his Brightness, so the Bodies of his Saints shall shine as the Stars, though one Star exceed another in Glory. And from hence is likewise insinuated, that though every Body shall have an Aspect of Glory upon it, yet according to the different degrees of Grace in the Soul, shall be different degrees of Glory in the Body, for one Star exceedeth another in Glory: Yet such shall be the Beauty of all, that in the least Star there shall be a fullness of Glory: So that one Star shall not envy, but rejoice in another's Glory. And here will be the Gloriousest Sight in the World, to see our Lord *Jesus Christ* come in the Clouds in his own Glorified Body, which shall out-shine the Sun in its highest Lustre, accompanied with all the Angels of Heaven, in their highest dress of Glory and Splendor, to attend their Lord in the greatest business that ever was, or shall be; the Judgment of the whole World. Men and Angels to see and hear, that Great, Powerful, and Solemn Summons of all Men that ever were, to their Final Judgment by the Trumpet, and Voice of an Arch-Angel. To see the Graves opening, and yielding up their Dead: and those poor despised Saints of *Christ*, those hidden ones, that the World, when they were upon Earth, knew not; or, if they knew them, knew them

them with Scorns, Derision and Persecution: To see these arise in Glory and Splendor, as bright as the Light, or as the Angels, at the Resurrection of our Lord, with as much Beauty, Grace, and Glory, as the Omnipotence, and Boundless Love of *Christ* can put upon Humane Creatures, whom he intends to make the Beholders of his own Glory to all Eternity. Those, thus Arrayed, and Conducted by the Guidance of Angels, into the Presence of that *Christ* that died for them, and now Reigneth and Judgeth for them, brought unto those Mansions, which now, above 1600 Years since, he went to Heaven to provide for them. Certainly this Appearance will be a most Glorious and Blessed Appearance.

But on the other side, though the Resurrection is common both to the Good and Bad, yet the manner is different: For as Shame and Confusion shall be the Portion of the Wicked, from the time of the Judgment, so shall it be from the time of the Resurrection. The same Distemper, and Shame, and Astonishment that shall fall upon the Wicked that shall be living on the Earth; who shall beg the Rocks and Mountains to cover them from the Face of their Judge, shall also attend those that shall rise to the Judgment of Condemnation. Guilt and Shame, and Astonishment and Fear, and a Preapprehension of their imminent Judgment, a secret struggling against that Power that shall draw them before their Judge, all which cannot choose but work an Impression of Horror and Shame upon their very outward appearance. In sum, such shall be the condition of the Wicked in their Resurrection, as becomes the Face of a Malefactor drawn before his Judge, as of a Traitor drawn before his

Prince Armed with Power and Vengeance. And on the other side, such as shall be the Glory and External Splendor of the Elect in that day, as becomes the Inheritors of a Kingdom, an Eternal Kingdom, going to their Installation: And as our Saviour was here in this World, in a very low and despised Condition, and that Condition, for the most part, befalling his Members in this World: So then at that day he shall be cloathed with all the Glory and Majesty that can be communicated to the view of Men and Angels: And those despised ones, that here were conformed to their Head, in Sufferings and Shame, shall then be cloathed with as much Lustre and Glory as can be laid on a Humane Nature thus advanced in Perfection: *When our Lord shall come to be glorified in his Saints, and to be admired in all them that believe,* 2 Thess. 1. 10. That very impression of Glory which this Great King shall lay upon his Saints and Followers, shall be such, as becomes the Members of such a Head; the Attendants, nay Friends, of such a Prince; the Spouse of such a Husband.

Thirdly, The next quality of the Body in the Resurrection, is Strength. *It is Sown in Weakness, it is raised in Power:* Not only by, but in Power.

The Power of our Saviour's Resurrection shall communicate a like Power to the Bodies of his Saints, that they shall break the Bonds of the Grave, and of Death it self, stronger than the Grave. And though the weight of the whole Earth could be laid upon it, yet it should make his way to meet his Saviour in the Clouds. This Strength shall be common to the Wicked and the Just, *viz.* To break the Chains of Death: though these enter through those

those Chains into a Second Death, more hideous than the former: But there is another Power that shall accompany the Bodies of the Just in the Resurrection, *viz.* Agility, Activity, such as shall be admirably fitted to the Loco-motive Faculty of the Soul. The Body shall not be a Clog, an Impediment, or Burthen to the *Soul*, but exactly fitted to all its Motions. But this will appear more evidently in the next quality.

Fourthly, Spiritually. It is sown a Natural Body, it is raised a Spiritual Body. Not a Spirit, but a Spiritual Body, a Body Spiritualized, or a Body stripped of those Infirmities that now do attend our Constitution, and are inconsistent with the Blessed and Glorious Condition which we expect in that other Life. And this Spirituality of the Body imports.

1. A Rarity of the Body: The Body now is gross, which is an Impediment to the Speedy Transition, or Motion thereof from place to place: But in the Resurrection, the Body, though it continue a Body, yet it shall be endued with Rarity and Tenacity, whereby it shall not be impeded in its Motion, either by it self, or by the *Medium*. And to this tends the Expression of the Apostle, 1 Thess. 4. 17. *We shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air;* A Motion hardly consistent with a Body so gross as ours now is.

2. There shall be no necessity of supply, or support of our Nature, with Meat, Drink, Sleep: But we shall be upheld in perfect Subsistence, by

the Power of God, without any of these Supplies: That of *Revelat.* 7. 16. is true, as well Literally as Mystically, *They shall hunger no more, neither shall there be any more thirst.*

3. There shall be no Sickness, or Pain; for these were the Fruits of Sin. And as Sin shall be no more, *So there shall be no more Curse,* *Revelat.* 22. 3.

4. As they shall be delivered from those Conditions now incident to Humane Nature, for the support of it self in *Individuo*, and in *Specie*, so they shall be void of those Inclinations of the Sensual Appetite, that move towards these Supplies of Humane Nature. And upon this Account our Saviour washes off that great Objection that the *Saduces* thought they had made against the Resurrection, *Luke* 20. 35. *They Marry not, nor are given in Marriage, neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the Angels, and are the Children of God, being the Children of the Resurrection.* Eating and Drinking, and Sleep, are the ordinary support of our Natures here, while we are in our Journey: and Marrying and Giving in Marriage are Ordinances appointed by God for the Propagation and Preservation of the Kind: and accordingly our Natures here are indued with Natural Inclinations towards these: But in our Country, all these will be at an end, because their Use ceaseth. And upon the same account also, these Civil Dependencies that are in this Life for the Maintenance of Humane Society, will also cease and be laid aside: there will be no Superiority, or Inferiority, or Subordination among the Saints in Heaven: But they

they shall be all Subjects unto one King, the Great King of Heaven and Earth.

5. They shall be delivered at least from the actual use or exercise of all those Affections or Passions that import any defect or Absence of a perfect Felicity. There shall be no Hope; for Hope shall be swallowed up in Enjoyment: No Fear; for their Felicity is bottomed upon the unchangeable Decree of Almighty God. No Sorrow; for all Tears shall be wiped away. No Anger; for there shall not, cannot be any occasion thereof. And indeed all the Affections of the Soul shall be as it were turned into Love and Joy: for there shall not be any object for any of the rest of the Affections. But these shall never fail, because their object shall ever continue: a continual sight of the Perfection, Glory, Goodness, Excellence, and Love of God, drawing out our Love; and continual Enjoyment of the Presence, Goodness, and Favour of God, filling us with Joy.

Whiles we live in our Houses of Clay, the very Temper and Disposition of our Blood and Constitution, create in us a Disposition to certain Passions, various, according to the variety of our Natural Constitutions; Melancholy, to Sadness; Sanguin, to Levity and Mirth; Flegm, to Sluggishness; Choler, to Anger. And these again, according as they are mixed, produce several middle, or compounded Passions, which are not so much the Affections of the Mind, as Affections of the Body Affecting the Mind. And hence it is, that without any Excitation from an External Object, the very Constitution of the Body carries it self and the Mind into these Passions and Distempers. But

in that day all those shall be cured. These Complexions of the Body are incident to our Earthly Tabernacles, but not to that Body wherewith we shall be cloathed in that day : which shall be a Body not Injurious to the Mind, but exactly and admirably serviceable to it, in the highest Perfection that it is capable of.

And thus we have consider'd the Apostle's Answer to the Question *De Modo*, as it refers to the thing it self. But there is yet somewhat farther in the Question, *How shall it arise?* How, or by what means shall it arise, or thus arise? That a poor rotten Carcass, pulled down into the Grave by a Thousand Distempers, and there covered with Earth, to hide its Deformity, Corruption and Filthiness: How shall such a Body, that at the best is but a Corruptible thing, and in Death Corrupted, arise with so much Perfection, Beauty, Excellence? To this the Apostle gives his Answer, by that which is still obvious to the view of a Natural Man. And wherein he must necessarily see the Power of God, and a Power no less than in this of the Resurrection, Ver. 37. *That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that Body that shall be:* As if he should thus say; The Grain that thou sowest, though it send up it self into that which thou after Reapest, differeth very much from that it was before, in Beauty, Quantity, and other Advantages. Thou seest the Power of the Great Creator that gives a kind of Resurrection to this Corn, gives it also another kind of Shape and Appearance than what it had in the Grain: *For God giveth it a Body as it hath pleased him.*

I gain, look upon the Earth and Heavens; *the Glory of the Heavenly Bodies is one, that of the Earthly*

ly Bodies another. Again, look upon the Earthly Bodies, they have great variety in them, though they own the same Common Earth for their Ground-work or Matter. Look also upon the Celestial Bodies, who, though they consist probably of the same Matter, yet they have a diversity of Beauty, Glory, and Lustre upon them: *There is one Glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, another of the Stars.* Nay, even in the very Stars themselves, fixed in the same Sphere, we see one Star exceeding another in Glory. And whence comes this variety of the Glory of the Creatures, that it may be were taken out of the same Matter; or if not, yet all their Matter taken out of the same Nothing: But only the Will and Power of the Great Lord of all Things: He that by his Almighty Word, called the Matter and Mass of all Things out of Nothing, can, with the same, and in respect to the Nature of the Thing, with much more ease recall Something to what it was before. And he that out of the same Common Mass, or Matter, could frame several Things, and dress them with differing Glory, one far excelling another; the same Almighty God can, with the same ease, dress up that Corruptible Corrupted Piece, thy Body, after it hath lain many Thousand Years rotting in the Dust, into a Beauty and Glory equal to that of the Sun. Had it been possible, before thou wert, to have seen that little Mass of Red Earth, which thy Maker took, and out of it formed thy First Parent. And hadst seen him when this Rude Material came out of God's hands, formed into that Excellent Fabrick, and dressed with that Excellent Glory that *Adam* had in Paradise; thou wouldest have seen a Progress of no less difficulty

ficulty than that we now speak of. And therefore look upon the Creatures, and consider their Original, thou wilt answer thy self in thy Objections against a Resurrection, and such a Resurrection as this we have declared.

Now this Resurrection of the Body is common to the Just and Unjust. For so we are Taught in the Old Testament, Eccles. 12. 14. *God shall bring every Work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* And so we are Taught in the New Testament, 2 Cor. 5. 10. *We must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* The Great Judge of Heaven and Earth respite his Distributive Justice, and it doth not here so clearly appear: *There are Just Men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the Wicked, and è converso,* Eccles. 8. 14. But there will come a Day of the Manifestation of the Righteous Judgment of God, in which Day he will have the Glory of his perfect Justice. And as the Purity, Justice, and Glory of God includes the necessity of a Judgment, so the necessity of that Judgment requires the appearance of the Persons to receive that Judgment. And because all Persons that ever were or shall be, are subject to a Rule of Justice, and Righteousness, given by the Great Lord of all things, therefore all Persons shall come under the Scrutiny, Search, and Determination of that Judgment. And because the whole Man was the Subject of that Law, therefore the whole Man shall be Judged by it: And so there is a necessity of a Resurrection as well of the Just as Unjust, that they may, in the Completeness of their Constitution, receive their Reward or Punish-

Punishment, according to what they have done in the Flesh. We will therefore consider wherein the Members of Christ, and those that are not, do agree and differ, in Relation to the Resurrection: And they agree in this,

1. That there shall be a Resurrection both of the one and of the other.
2. That in the Resurrection the Bodies of both shall be Spiritualized.

The present Constitution of our Bodies are such, that they are unable to bear that measure of Joy, Comfort, and Glory, that shall belong to the Blessed; and that measure of Vengeance and Torment that is the Portion of the Cursed. Therefore, as to the one, there shall be given a Body, able to bear the weight of Glory, styled by the Apostle, *An exceeding and eternal weight of Glory*, 2 Cor. 4. 17. So to the others there shall be given a Body, though exquisitely sensible of the Burthen of the Wrath of God, and of that Fire that never goeth out, yet not consumed by it. As Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; so neither can Flesh and Blood, in the present Constitution thereof, dwell with those everlasting Burnings prepared for the Wicked.

3. Consequently the Bodies as well of the Blessed, as of the Cursed Souls, shall be indued with Incorruption and Immortality; Those, that they may to all Eternity enjoy Blessedness and Glory; These, that to all Eternity, they may suffer the Vengeance, Fury and Wrath of God.

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The Immortality and Incorruption of the Bodies of the Saints is there Privilege, that renders them capable of an everlasting Fruition of the Prefence and Favour of God. The Immortality and Incorruption of the Bodies of the Wicked is the Addition of their Misery: They shall everlasting-ly be, that they may everlasting-ly be wretched; and so continue for ever the Monuments of the Righteous Judgment of the Glorious and Eternal God.

Now, though they thus far agree, yet the Resurrection of the Just and Unjust differ as followeth.

First, In the Cause: For though it is true, that the Resurrection of both is by the Power of God, yet the Manner of the Execution of this Power is differing. For the Members of Christ Jesus shall arise, by Virtue of their Union with their Head, by a kind of Secret and Sweet Sympathy with him who is their Life, and their Life hid in him, John 6. 57. *He that eateth me, even he shall live by me.* John 11. 25. *I am the Resurrection and the Life: He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall be live.* John 14. 19. *Because I live ye shall live also.* And hence it is that our Lord Jesus doth so frequently own the Resurrection of his, as his own special and Discriminative Work. John 6. 44. 54. *I will raise him up at the last day.* Matth 24. 31. *And he shall send his Angels, and they all gather his Elect.* Philip. 2. 21. *Christ shall change our vile Bodies, &c.* And this stands upon this ground of our Union with Christ our Head, and in our Head is our Life hid. Christ our Head is hid, and consequently

quently our Life is hid : and when our Head shall appear, our Life shall appear, Coloss. 3. 3, 4. So that a Man may say, That the Resurrection of the Just, is, as it were, a Fruit, a Consequent of the Resurrection of our Lord : And therefore he is called, *The First-born from the Dead*, Coloss. 1. 18. and the Resurrection of the Just attributed to his Resurrection, as the Virtual and Immediate Cause thereof : And such as being granted, doth, by way of Consequence, infer, and as it were necessitate the Effect. Rom. 6. 5. If we be planted in the likeness of his Death, we shall be also in the likeness of his Resurrection. 1 Cor. 15. 12. If Christ be risen, how say some that there is no Resurrection from the Dead? 1 Thess. 4. 14. If we believe that Jesus died and rose again ; Even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him : The Resurrection of the Members of Christ, though subsequent to his, in order of time, yet in consideration of Nature, is a kind of necessary concomitant of the Resurrection of Christ. And, upon the same account, as our Lord Christ's Body could not be longer detained under the Power of Death, than the determinative time of Three Days, because the Debt which he undertook was paid : So that it was not possible he should be holden of it, Acts 2. 24. So Christ having Paid the Debt of his Elect, and thereby abolished Death, the Wages of that Debt, 2 Tim. 1. 10. There is the like necessity of the Resurrection of the Members of Christ : It is not possible they can be detained under the Natural Death, unto everlasting, no more than it was for our Lord Christ. And this is that Victory which God hath given us over Death by Christ, 1 Cor. 15. 57. So then the Resurrection of the Righteous, though
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Originally and Fundamentally it be to be attributed to the Power of God, yet immediately is to be attributed unto our Lord *Christ*,

First, As a Fruit, a Concomitant, or Necessary Consequent of his Resurrection, who is our Head, and in whom our Life is hid.

Secondly, As a Fruit and Consequent of his Satisfaction, by whom our Debt is Paid, and so this Retentive Power of Death abolished.

And hence it is, that as by the Power of the Spirit of *Christ*, working us to our First Resurrection, we are made a *willing People in that day of his Power*: So in our Motion towards this Second Resurrection, we move to it willingly: And as all things in Nature reach out after their Perfection, and press towards it; So the Members of *Christ* reach out after the Resurrection of their Bodies, as to that wherein, or immediately upon which, their Perfection and Blessedness consists. Rom. 8. 23. *Waiting for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of our Bodies.* Philip. 3. 11. *By any means to attain to the Resurrection of the Dead.* And hence it is, that the Bodies of the Blessed in the Resurrection, shall most Willingly, and in a manner, Naturally, move to the Presence of *Christ*, as the Eagle doth to his Prey. Luke 17. 37. *Where the Carcass is, thither will the Eagles be gathered together.*

But in the Resurrection of the Unjust it shall be otherwise: The Almighty and unresistible Power of God shall gather them from their Graves. The Grave, as the Minister of God, shall deliver up those

those that she hath in her Custody. *Isai.* 26. 19. *The Earth shall cast out the Dead.* *Revel.* 20. 13. *Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them.* Such as these are detained under the Custody of Death until the Judgment ; and then, whether they will or no, they are delivered up : And as soon as they are out of the Custody of the Grave, by the Resurrection, and upon the Voice of that Powerful Trumpet that shall summon them, they are immediately conducted by the Power of God, unto the Presence of their Judge. And though they have within them a secret Reluctance, and Opposition against it, so that they *wish the Rocks and Mountains to cover them;* yet all is in vain : Go they must, *Revel.* 6. 16.

And this is the *First Difference:* The Elect in Christ rise by Virtue of a Secret Sympathy with their Saviour, and therefore do Willingly and Earnestly move to it : The Wicked are raised by the irresistible Power of God, and are unwillingly drawn into the Presence of their Judge.

The *Second Difference* is in the Manner of their Resurrection : The Bodies of the Saints of God shall in the Resurrection *be fashioned like the Glorious Body of the Son of God,* *Philip.* 3. 21. *Bear the Image of the Heavenly,* *1 Cor.* 15. 49. Their Countenances filled with Joy and Assurance, being now to approach to their Happiness, the Angels shall be their Convoy and Attendance unto the Presence of Christ their Saviour, and shall with all Sweetness and Cheerfulness perform that Office unto the meanest Servant of Christ. On the other side, the Wicked shall arise with Shame, Fear, Confusion, and

and astonishment in their Countenances, upon the Conscience of their former Sins, and the preapprehension of their imminent Misery : And in that Condition shall be drawn before the Judgment Seat of Christ, whom, in this World, they contemned and persecuted.

Thus far have we consider'd the Resurrection in the Subject : Somewhat is also shown unto us in the Scriptures, concerning the Adjuncts of it. And therein,

I. The Time.

II. The Concomitants.

III. The Consequents.

I. For the Time : And therein thus we may say ;

i. That there is a Determinate Time, or Day, wherein this shall be, *Acts 17. 31. He hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the World in Righteousness.* The Day of Judgment, and the Day of the Resurrection unto Judgment, is the same Day.

2. That though this Day be fixed in the determinate Counsel of God ; yet it is not discovered so much as to the Angels. *Mattb. 24. 36. Of that day and hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.* And surely the certainty of the Time of the Judgment is concealed from Mankind, much to our advantage.

First,

First, To keep us always watchful : This is the use our Saviour Teacheth us, Matb. 24. 42. 25. 13. Watch therefore, for ye know not what hour the Lord doth come.

Secondly, To keep us always in hope of the Coming of our Lord, and a comfortable Expectation of it, Titus 2. 13. Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. 2. 12. Looking for, and hastening unto the coming of the day of God. Certainly it is a blessed ignorance, if it cause an improvement of these Graces in us ; for they are the Improvements of our future Glory.

*Thirdly, That though our Saviour Christ promiseth a speedy Coming to Judgment in many places, and seems to direct his Speeches in many places as if those very Persons to whom he spake, should be the Persons in whole time this Day should come : Yet we must know, that that was in no sort intended by our Saviour : But he spake to them, and in them to all Persons of all Ages of the Church, Mark 13. ult. *What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.* For it is not Reasonable, or Just, to think, that when our Saviour brought Life and Immortality to light ; discovered unto Mankind the Mercy and Counsel of God, whereby there was a greater means of Converting many unto him ; when, as I may say, the Great Market of Salvation was, as it were, but begun in the World, that presently the Door should be shut up : God Almighty was, as it were, preparing the World Four thousand years for the Great Prophet and Saviour of the World : And it were*

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not reasonable to think, he should close up all presently upon his Coming. And as this could not reasonably be conceived, so, in Truth, Almighty God, in the Prophecies of the Old Testament, expressly publisheth the contrary. He expected a greater Harvest, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, after the Coming of *Christ*, than was come in before. And it is plain, our Saviour himself frequently intimateth, and in express Terms declares, That many things of moment must first come to pass before the end, which would require many Ages to bring to pass: As namely, *The Preaching of the Gospel among all Nations*, *Mark 13. 10. The fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles*, *Luke 21. 24*. And therefore, when upon the Misapplication, or Misapprehension of our Saviour in the Apostles time, there did arise Scoffers, saying, *Where is the promise of his coming*, *2 Pet. 3. 4*. The Apostle, First settles our Judgment, *That a Thousand years with the Lord is as one day*, and è *converso*. And truly if it be rightly consider'd, we mistake our selves in the Measure of Time: For though by piecing one Age to another, we have made up Sixteen hundred years since our Saviour's time, yet, in Truth, to every Man it is but his own Age. Though between my Death and my Judgment, a Thousand years should incur, yet there will seem little or no Interval to my Soul, whose Duration will be of another Nature, than it is here *in composito*. Secondly, He renders the Reason; because God is not willing that any should perish. There are a number of Men, that in the course of his Providence shall yet be born, who are of the Number of his Elect, who shall inlarge his Kingdom; and therefore he will not intercept his own Glory, with an untimely cutting off of Mankind.

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As Almighty God hath appointed the Ages of Men, wherein, without an untimely Death, they are, as it were, ripe, and come into the Grave, like a shock of Corn in its Season : So he hath appointed an Age to the World, a time when the number of his Elect is fulfilled, when the Harvest of the World is ripe : and then, and not till then, *Shall the Angel put in his Sickle*, Revel. 14. 15.

Fourthly, That though the certain prefix'd Time of the Last Day is unknown unto us ; yet so much is known unto us, that some of the Fore-runners thereof are not past ; Some are past. Of those that are already past, we may reckon these :

1. *False Christs*, Matth. 24. 5, 23, 24. And such have been in former Times, since the Ascension of our Saviour, as appears by *Ecclesiastical Histories* : And such have been even in our own Times, and possibly may be hereafter. Therefore, though this be past, in part, yet, it may be, not perfectly past.

2. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* fully, and to the utmost.

Some are such, though they be partly past, yet they are not perfectly fulfilled, but have a kind of Progress, or Continuation ; such are many of those Signs Predicted by our Saviour.

First, Wars, and Rumours of Wars, Matth. 24. 6.

Secondly, Persecution of true Christians ; though eminently begun shortly after our Saviour's Time, in the *Ten Persecutions* ; yet continued in the *Roman and Turkish State*, Matth. 24: 9.

Thirdly, A great Defection and Falling away from the Truth, Matth. 24. 12. The Love of many shall wax cold. 2 Thess. 2. 3. That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first. And though in all the Progress of the Gospel, it hath been attended with an Apostacy, as appears in the *Asian* Churches, and in the *Romish* Church, and is to be feared in those Churches that now are, or lately have been famous ; the Light of the Gospel Travelling still Westward, and *Superstition, Mahometanism, and Paganism* still following it : yet, doubtless, before that Great Day, there shall be a Great and Visible Apostasie, more than before, 2 Pet. 3. 4. *In the last days shall come Scoffers, walking after their own lusts, saying, Where is the promise of his coming ? The defection shall be so great, that, at the coming of our Lord, we shall scarce find Faith upon the Earth.* A kind of Universal Supineness and Atheism shall overspread the Face of the World, as it did before the Flood, *Matth. 24. 36.*

Fourthly, The Revealing the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, 2 Thess. 2. 3.

Fifthly, The Universal Promulgation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, Matth. 24. 14. And this Gospel shall be Preached in all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations, and then shall the End come. Mark 13. 10. And the Gospel must first be published among all Nations. And this hath been in part fulfilled in the Preaching of the *Apostles* and *Fathers* : So that the Sound thereof hath gone through most places of the Known World, *Asia, Europe, and Africa.* And it is now Travelling into *America*, by the Means

Means of several New Plantations of late times there.

There remain yet certain other Preparatories and Prophecies, that are not yet effected, but rest in Expectation: Such are,

1. The Fulfilling of the Times of the Gentiles, and the Conversion of the Jews to the Faith of Christ. This, as it is a thing often Prophesied in the Old Testament, so most plainly foretold in the New. Luke 21. 24. *Jerusalem shall be troden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* Rom. 11. 25. *I would not have ye ignorant of this Mystery, that Blindness is in part happened unto Israel, until the Fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.* For the space of above Two thousand years, the Church and Household of God were confined to the Seed of Abraham, and the rest of the World were Strangers unto God and his Covenant. Since the Coming of our Saviour, they have been Scattered, and Born that Curse which their Fore-fathers Bound, as much as in them lies, *upon themselves and their Posterity*, Matth. 27. 25. Or the greatest part of them have suffered a longer Exile from the Presence of God, from their first Captivity under the Assyrian. And since that Rejection of the Jews, under the Times of Vespasian, the whole World hath been called into the Fellowship of that Covenant, and the Jews sit under hardness. Thus, like Gideon's Fleece, Judges 6. 36. in the first Age of the World, they alone had the Dew of the Blessing of God upon them, when the World round about was dry and barren: And since the Crucifying of Christ, the whole World is filled with that Dew, and the Jewish Nation dry. But we expect the Manifesta-

tion of the Mercy and Truth of God, that when he shall have gathered and fulfilled the Number of the Elect out of the Multitude of the *Gentiles*, he will take off that Veil of Blindness, and Hardness, from the Hearts of that People, which were sometime his own ; and that in so eminent and notable a manner, that it shall be Conspicuous to the whole World. And it seems to be a great Evidence of the Providence and Truth of God, as well in their Dispersion, as in their Future Calling, that though they are sown in the World, in several Places, yet their Persons and Families are distinctly known, both to themselves and others : That so the Truth of those Prophecies, and Curse of Dissipation of them, may be legible to all Nations, and that their Conversion, and Re-gathering, in due time, may be visible and apparent.

2. The Consumption and Abolition of that Man of Sin, styled, *The Son of Perdition*, 2 Thess. 2. *Babylon the Great*, Revel. 18. *Sodom and Egypt*, Revel. 11. 8. *The Great Whore that sitteth upon many Waters : Mystery, Babylon the Great : The Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth*, Revel. 17. 5. *In whom was found the Blood of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon the Earth*, Revel. 18. 24.

3. Some Eminent, Remarkable, and Terrible Concussion, even of the Powers of Heaven, which shall cause Astonishment and Confusion in the Hearts of Men : signified by our Saviour in those Expressions, Matth. 25. 29. Matth. 13. 24. *The Sun and Moon darkned, and the Stars falling, and the Powers of Heaven shaken*. Luke 21. 25. *Distress of Nations, Perplexity, Mens hearts failing them for fear, for the*

the Powers of Heaven shall be shaken. And yet, which is wonderful, such shall be the strange defection that shall fall upon the Generality of Mankind, that they shall not so much as suspect the Coming of our Lord, till they see him in the Clouds. For as a Snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the Earth, Luke 21. 35.

II. The Concomitants of the Resurrection.

First, The Appearance of Christ Personally in the Air, with infinite Glory and Majesty, Matth. 24. 30. Luke 21. 27. Mark 13. 26. All the Angels of Heaven attending upon him, Matth. 25. 31. And as their and our Lord shall visibly appear in the greatest Glory that can be conceived, so doubtless the Angels, his Royal Attendants, shall put on their best Dres of Glory, conspicuous unto the very Sense; and the Sense of the Beholders shall be so advanced, as once Elisha's Servants were, 2 Kings 6. 17. that they shall behold the Glory of those pure and Incorporeal Creatures attending the Throne of our Saviour in the Clouds.

Secondly, A Majestical and Loud Summons, by the Voice of an Arch-Angel, at the Command of Christ, Summoning all that ever were to their Resurrection. And at this Powerful Summons, the Graves shall yield up their Dead, Matth. 24. 31. He shall send his Angels with the Great Sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his Elect from the four Winds. 1 Cor. 15. 52. For the Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. 2 Thess. 4. 16. For the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the Voice of an

Arch-Angel, with the Trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. And thus, as when God Almighty appear'd from Heaven at the giving of the Law, to augment the Terribleness, Majesty, and Solemnity of that Day, there was not only a visible discovery of the Presence of God in that great and terrible Fire unto the midst of Heaven, Deut. 4. 12. But there was the Terrible Sound of a Trumpet, that sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Exod. 19. 19. That shook the very Mountain, Exod. 19. 18. And amazed and terrified the bearers, Heb. 12. 19. So in that great Day, to add to the Majesty and Terribleness thereof, there shall be not only Objects of Glory and Amazement unto the Eye, but a Powerful Voice that shall be heard from one end of Heaven to the other, Summoning all to Judgment.

Thirdly, A Mission of the Holy Angels, to receive the Elect from the Womb of the Grave, and to Conduct them unto the Presence of Christ their Redeemer. Mattb. 24. 31. They shall gather together the Elect from the four Winds, from one end of Heaven unto the other. Thus the Pure and Glorious Angels glory in this Office, to be Ministering Spirits for them who shall be Heirs of Salvation, Hab. 1. 14. Ministering for them in their Infancy, when they are not able to help themselves. Mattb. 18. 10. Their Angels behold the Face of my Father. Ministering for them in their Sufferings, as they did to Peter and Paul. Ministering for them in their Death, and Watching the Expiring of their Souls, to conduct them to a place of rest, as they did for Lazarus, Luke 16. 22. and Ministering for them in their Resurrection, to conduct them to the Presence of their Saviour.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, An Immediate Change of all the persons that shall be then living upon the Face of the Earth, equivalent to a Resurrection; in an instant separating from them all those corruptible qualities that attend our Houses of Clay. 1 Cor. 15. 52. *The dead shall be raised, and we shall be changed.* And it should seem by the Apostle, that the Resurrection shall go before that Change, at least in some small distance, or Portion of time, 2 Thess. 4. 16, 17. *And the Dead in Christ shall Rise first, then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them.*

III. The Consequents of the Resurrection are principally these;

1. A Dissolution of the present Frame of the World, at least in respect of the present Constitution of it. 2 Pet. 3. 10. *The day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the night, wherein the Heavens shall pass away with a great noise: The Elements shall melt with fervent heat: the Earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up.*

2. The Last Judgment: And this takes in the Third General Consideration of the State of the Soul and Body in the Last Judgment. And therefore we shall consider it distinctly:

First, The Judge.

Secondly, The Persons to be Judged.

Thirdly, The Rule by which they shall be Judged.

Fourthly, The Judgment.

Fifthly, The Execution of the Judgment.

First,

First, Touching the Judge; It shall be Christ Jesus, our Mediator, God and Man in one Person, Matth. 24. 31. *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory: And before him shall be gathered all Nations.* 2 Cor. 5. 10. For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his Body, &c. 2 Thess. 1. 7. *When our Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his Mighty Angels in Flaming Fire.* True it is, that the Authoritative Judgment is the Father's, but he hath committed the Execution, or Administration of this Great Tribunal to the Son. Hence our Saviour saith, John 5. 22, 27. *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son.* Acts 17. 31. *He hath appointed a Day in which he will Judge the World by the Man whom he hath ordained.* And hence it seems to be, that Dan. 7. 9, 13. *The Ancient of days did sit, and his Throne was like the fiery flame, and Thousand Thousands Ministered unto him. And the Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* In the 13th Verse, *One like the Son of Man came to the Ancient of days, and there was given him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdom.* The former importing the Original, or Foundation of the Authority, or the Preparation of the Throne in the Heavens: The latter, the Delegation and Actual Administration of the Judgment. For it is plain, that the Actual and Visible Exercise of that Power shall be in our Saviour. Matth. 25. 34. *Then shall the King say, Come ye blessed of my Father.* Matth. 19. 28. *When the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of Glory.* And certainly the appearance of this

this day, shall be an appearance of unexpressible Glory and Majesty. *Christ*, the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity, cloathed with all the Majesty and Glory that becomes the Greatness of his Person, and the Solemnity of the Busines, set on a Throne of Glory, eminently conspicuous to all the Persons that ever were, or shall be; and from whence they shall receive their Doom: Accompanied with all the Angels in Heaven, as the Ministers and Messengers of his Will; Accompanied with all the Blessed Saints that ever were, or shall be, to whom he gives the Honour, nor only to be Beholders, but as it were Assessors in his Judgment, though not in the Power of his Authority, yet in the Suffrage and Applause of his Justice, *Mat. 19. 28. Ye also shall sit on Twelve Thrones, Judging the Twelve Tribes. 1 Cor. 6. 2. Know ye not that the Saints shall Judge the World?* Thus he shall be Glorified in his Saints, and Admired in all them that Believe. Not only admired by them, but admired in them, for that Impression of Glory and Majesty that he shall then put upon them.

Secondly, The Persons Judged: All the whole Race of Adam, not a Person excepted. John 28. 29. The hour is coming, in which all that are in the Graves shall hear his Voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the Resurrection of Life; and they that have done evil, to the Resurrection of Damnation. 2 Cor. 5. We must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ. And though the Multitude will be exceeding Great, yet it shall not confound the Sentence of the Judge, He will with most exquisite and infallible Judgment divide the one from the other: and every Person shall have so distinct and

and clear a Representation of his Sentence unto himself, and so convincing a Satisfaction therein, and of the Evidence, Clearness and Justice thereof, as if he were the only Person to be Judged.

Thirdly, As the Persons, so the Subject Matter touching which the Judgment shall be is considerable. And the Subject Matter upon which the Judgment shall be, are the Works of Men. *Eccles. 12. 14.* *God shall bring every Work unto Judgment.* Whatsoever cometh under the Command, or Prohibition of the Law of God, shall come under the Judgment of God: And these are of Three Kinds;

1. The Works.

2. The Words.

3. The Thoughts and Purposes. For all these, as they are the Acts of a Rational Creature, come under the Law of God.

1. For the Works of Men: These are the last and complete Acts of the Rational Creature, and are the final productions of the Mind formed into External Actions: And all these shall God bring into Judgment. *Mattb. 16. 27.* *The Son of Man shall come in the Glory of the Father, and shall reward every Man according to his Works.* Some Works there are, which, in the External Administration of Justice among Men, do escape their Reward of Humane Distributive Justice, whether they be Good or Evil: Some, in respect of Injustice of those that are in Power; Others, in respect of the Impos-

Impotence of those that should Reward, or Punish. And thus many Offences pass unpunished, because they are committed by Persons above the reach of Humane Justice : Others, in respect of the Secrecie of the Fact, that they avoid the Detection, and consequently the Execution of Justice. But it shall not be so in that Day : As all Persons are under the Authority, so all Persons are under the Power of this Judge. *Revel. 18. 8. Strong is the Lord that Judgeth.* And as the Power of the Offender shall not exempt the Offence from Judgment ; so neither shall the Secrecie of the Work escape the Judgment ; *For he shall bring into Judgment every Work, with every Secret thing, whether it be Good, or whether it be Evil,* Eccles. 12. 14. *In that Day God shall Judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ,* Rom. 2. 16. *For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid, that shall not be made known,* Matthew 10. 26. There is not a good Action in all thy Life, though never so secretly done, but then it shall be Proclaim'd before Men and Angels : Not a Prayer that thou hast made in thy Closet, when no Ear heard thee but the Almighty : Not a Tear shed for thy Sins, when no Eye saw thee, but his that made thee : Not an Alms given so privately, that the Party relieved knew not his Benefactor : Not a Cup of cold Water given in the Name of a Disciple, though he knew not from whence it came : Not an Acting in Sincerity for the Glory of thy Maker, though hid and veiled from the Eyes of all Men living ; but shall then be made as manifest as the Sun, and attended with an open Reward. *Matth. 6. 26. The Father that seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.* Again, if thy Villanies be hatch'd in Darkness, and none privy to them but thine own

own Conscience : If thou hide thy Counsels of Mischief as low as Hell, that no Mortal Eye can discover them : If thou translate thy Mischief into other hands, and act by them, whilst they and the World think they act by themselves, and by their own Contrivances and Principles : If thou Mask thy Wickedness under the disguise of Religion, Holiness, Necessity, Pretences of Good Ends ; so that thou dost not only hide thy Villainy from the World, but even from thy Self ; yet in that day all this shall be detected in the Presence of a Light Brighter than the Sun ; in the Presence of the whole World : and all those Disguises taken off, and thy Wickedness rendred, as it is, without any other dress, than of its own Shame and Vilenes. And as thus the Sins of Commission shall be unveil'd, though never so secret ; so shall thy Sins of Omission, and that with all the Circumstances and Aggravations. Such a time thou hadst an opportunity to do this or that Good Work, to the Honour of thy Maker, to the Good of thy Brother, to the Salvation of thy Soul : And thou hadst not only an Opportunity, but the Secret Motion of the Spirit of Grace in thy Conscience did importune thee to lay hold on the Opportunity : And yet thou didst neglect the Opportunity, despise the Persuasion. *Matth. 25. 45.* The World condemned for Sins of Omission.

2. And as thus it is for Works, so for Words : for these come under the Law of God, and shall come under the Judgment of Reward and Punishment. *Matth. 12. 37.* *By thy Words thou shalt be justified, and by thy Words thou shalt be condemned.* Therefore our very words shall come into Judgment ; for, *they are*

are the immediate productions of the heart, Matth. 12. 34. Instances we have of both, that in that Great Day, God the Judge will bring into the Judgment of Approbation, Good Words tending to the Honour of our Maker, or the Good of others. Mal. 3. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard it: and a Book of Remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and thought upon his Name.*

On the other side, sinful Words shall come into Condemnation: tending to the dishonour of God, Blasphemies, *Taking his Name in vain*, Matth. 12. 31. To the Reproach of our Neighbour: Cursings: Upbraiding. Matth. 5. 22. *Whosoever shall say to his Brother, Thou Fool, shall be in danger of Hell-fire. Vain idle words not season'd with Salt.* Matth. 12. 36. *But I say unto you, that every idle word that Men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the Day of Judgment.* Ephes. 5. 4. Foolish talking and jesting. And surely if of idle and foolish words, much more of sinful words, *Lying*, Revel. 22. 15. *Whispering and Backbiting*, Rom. 1. 29, 30. Corrupt Communication, Ephes. 4. 29. *The corrupt exhalation of that open Sepulchre, a sinful heart*, Rom. 3. 13. *The fume of Hell-fire within*, James 3. 6. And surely, as here was much reason, that the Tongue, that great Instrument of the Glory and Good of others, should come under the Law of God; so the breach of that Law must needs come under Judgment.

3. As the Works and Words of Man shall come under this Judgment; so shall the Thoughts and Secret Motions of the Soul. And indeed it is the Inward Action of the Soul that most properly comes under the Law of God. As it hath an Operation without

without the Concurrence of the Body, so it is that which doth Specifie all the External Actions, and gives them their true denomination of Good or Evil. The very External Worship of God enjoyned by him, if not acted by a Soul rightly Principled and Moved, becomes *an abomination to him*, Isai. 1. 13. And those things that are for the matter the same in the External Act, are oftentimes diversified into Good or Evil, or Neither; according to the diversity of the temper of the Soul, whereby they are done. And hence it was that God measured the Wickedness of the Old World, by the Constitution and Temper of the Motions of their Soul. Gen. 6. 5. *And God saw that the Wickedness of man was great in the Earth: And that every imagination of the Thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* And hence it is, when under the Law, God shewed Man the Measure of that Purity which he required from him, he shows it in the Root: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul*, Deut. 6. 5. Styled by our Saviour, *The First and Great Commandment*, Matth. 22. 37. And our Saviour giving the true and natural Scope and Sense of the Law of God, brings it still to the working of the Soul; as that which was originally and especially the Subject of the Law. In the matters belonging to the First Table—John 4. 24. *God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth.* In the matter of the Second Table, Matth. 5. 28. *Whosoever looketh at a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery in his Heart.* Matth. 5. 21. Unadvised Anger comes under the Command, *Thou shalt not kill.*

It is true, that with men the External Action is the Subject of Distributive Justice, because the Thoughts

Thoughts and Intentions of the Heart are not discoverable to Man but by the External Act : Yet when that Act, be it Good or Evil, is Rewarded or Punished, it is not even among Men, merely in reference to the Act, but because the Act is the product of the Internal Man, the External Sign of the Will. And hence, even Morally, the External Act not proceeding from the Will, is neither Rewarded nor Punished ; as in Fortuitous Acts, and Acts of Persons wanting their use of Reason.

But Almighty God, whose Prerogative alone it is to *know the Heart*, Jer. 17. 9, 10. begins not with the Action, but with the Heart, and thereby measures the Action, if produced ; or the Man, if not produced, into Action : And because he hath the Prerogative to determine of the Motions of the Heart though never produced into an External Act, therefore also his Law hath the Prerogative to lay hold of the very Motions of the Heart. And hence it is, that as Almighty God being the most Pure and Immortal Spirit, gets within the Spirit of Man, and discerns those Invisible Operations of the Soul to the Word and Law of God, enters into the very Spirit of Man, and carries with it an Obligation, even upon those secret and invisible Motions of the Soul, Heb. 4. 12. *Piercing even unto the dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit ; and is a discerner or discriminator of the thoughts and intents of the Heart.* And therefore as the Law of God extends unto, and lays hold of the very Thoughts, so the violation of that Law, in the very Thoughts, contracts a Guilt upon the Soul. Hence it was, that that Holy Man Job, concluded a necessity of a Sacrifice, even for the Sin of the Thought, Job 1. 5. *It may be my Sons have sinned, and cursed God in*

their Hearts. Simon, that Cursed Man, was in the Gall of Bitterness, even while the very thoughts of his heart were not forgiven, Acts 8. 22. And the Wise Man tells us, Prov. 24.9. *That the thought of foolishness is sin.*

Now because the Subject matter of the Judgment are the Works, Words and Thoughts of Men, the same being the subject matter of the Law of God, it is necessary that there be an Evidence, or Conviction of the Fact: For such shall the Solemnity of that Judgment be, that there shall be no less Evidence to discover the Fact upon which the Judgment is to pass, than there shall be Justice in the Judgment upon that fact. And as every Man shall be Judged most exactly according to his works; So there is a necessity that every one of those Works, upon which the Judgment shall pass, must be evidently and convincingly proved upon the Person Judged.

Now we must know, there are Two Books, wherein the Actions of Men and their Words and Thoughts are Written: and these Books shall then be opened Dan. 7. 10. *The Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* Revel. 20. 12. *I saw the Dead, small and great stand before God, and the Books were opened.*

First, The Book of Conscience.

Secondly, The Book of God's Knowledge: The former a Testimony within us; the latter without us: But both so exactly agreeing, as if the former were but a Transcript, or counterpart of the other. These Two great Witnesses,

Witnesses, without exception, shall state and determine the Fact impartially and unquestionably.

I. The Book of *Conscience*. This is a Book, wherein, from the first use of our Reason, till our Death, we are continually Writing all our Thoughts, Words and Actions. A constant and Vigilant Companion, and Observer of all the Walk of our Lives, and of our Hearts. There is not the smallest good or evil Action, or Passage of our Life, but, whether we observe it or not, here it is Registered, and leaves the Character and Impression of it self in this Marble. And what a History should we find of our selves, if we could but distinctly Read this Book? It may be here and there some few scattered Entries of a Good Work, a Good Prayer, a Good Purpose; but yet presently Inscribed with it so many vain Thoughts in that Prayer; so much Vain glory or Self-end in that good Action; the Rejection of that purpose in Practice; and all the rest of that Mighty Volume filled with the History of our sinful and impure Actions, our vain and unprofitable and sinful words, our deceitful, disobedient, rebellious, unprofitable Thoughts. Our best Actions entred, but the defects and contaminations thereof entred in the same Paper with them: And the rest nothing else, but a Tedious Bloody Bill of Debts of Guilt to our Maker, with all the aggravations of them. And these Inscriptions engraven with the Point of a Diamond in Sheets of Steel, not capable of any Obliteration, unless it be by the Blood of *Jesus Christ*. It is true, whiles we are in this Life, we throw dust upon the Writing: Or, it

may be, in the Writing of a New Leaf, we turn over that which is past, and never trouble our selves more about it all our Lives after: New Sins, as it were, antiquating them that are past, and silencing their Remembrance. But God Almighty shall, at the Last Day, open this Book and cast off the dust from it: Then every *Item* shall be as legible, and as visible to the view, as it was at the time of the first acting of it. The multitude of the particulars shall not hinder the distinct representation of them to the Mind. It was one of *Job's* greatest Complaints, Job 13. 26. *That God made him to possess the Iniquities of his Youth.* Job 14. 17. *That his Transgression was sealed up in a Bag.* When God was pleased to open those Entries that were made in the Conscience, even of his own Servant, those very sins which were of the Ancientst Date, and therefore least remembred, the Sins of his Youth, which had the less malignity, because probably acted with less deliberation; Yet, when God is pleased to Unveil the Conscience, these Stale, these Youthful sins, made a hideous Representation on *Job* himself: How much more terrible shall it be, when all those Remembrances of the Conscience shall be at once rendred unto the view, and *all set in order before a Man?* Psalm 50. 21. And this is that *Engraving of Sin upon the Heart,* Jerem. 17. 1. *With the Point of a Diamond, That Writes in Wounds,* and not in Colours only.

2. Again, the Eternal God hath his Book, which shall then be open'd; and in that Book are Written all the Actions of Men. On the one side, not the least Good Action but there it is Entred: As he telleth our Wandrings, so he *Registrath our Tears,* Psal.

Psal. 56. 8. Not a few good words spoken in sincerity and love to God, but there is a *Memorandum* made of them, Mal. 3. 16. And on the other side, all those Evils that are done by the Children of Men, they are all there Registered. And though we might hope that some of these might slip the Diligence and Animadversion of the Recorder that is within us, there is no hope to avoid the Record that Almighty God makes: for *he is greater than our Conscience, and knoweth all things*, 1 John 3. 20.

There are Two Acts of the Divine Wisdom that are of infinite concernment for us practically to know and remember, which nevertheless we are apt to forget.

First, That all our ways, even of our very hearts, are strictly observed by God, Jer. 16. 17. *For mine eyes are upon all their ways, they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity hid from mine eyes.*

Secondly, That what is once seen by God, is always seen and not forgotten. It is true, we sin daily, and the new sins obliterate the sense and remembrance of the old: But it is not so with God, Hos. 7. 2. *They consider not in their hearts that I remember all their Wickedness.* That sin that seems to be lost, is but laid up, Hos. 13. 12. *The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up, his Sin is hid.* And when God is pleased to reckon with a Man, or Nation, even in this Life, he can recal a Sin past and forgotten many years ago, and render it visible to the Soul in all its Dimensions, Psal. 79. 8. *Remember not against us former Iniquities.* How much more shall it be in that Great Day when he shall, to the uttermost, set our

Iniquities before him, and make them conspicuous in the Light of his Countenance?

And yet there is one remains besides this : The Two former are such Books as we cannot think of without trembling. Every moment of time we furnish new Materials for the Two former Books ; and if we look back a little into our Selves and our Lives, we shall find very little but black and sad Materials and Reckonings, when every Sin makes our Soul a Debtor of its whole Self unto Eternity. What shall become of us, when almost every instant of our Lives gives in such an *Item* against us ? And if perchance we do any thing that is good, yet it is spoiled in the doing, mixed with so many defects, spots and enormities, that can render us but little comfort to behold it. And surely if either of these Two former Books be opened against the best of Men at that day, they must, with everlasting shame, inherit the portion due unto their sins. But here is the comfort of all ; *The Blood of Christ that cleanseth us from all sins*, 1 Joh. 1. 7. Though it is true, the best of Men have run infinitely in Debt to God, and filled the Book of Conscience, and the Book of God's Remembrance full of Sad Accounts ; yet our Saviour, if we have laid hold on him, and entred into Covenant with God in him, hath paid all our Reckonings, and the Books are crossed.

And upon this, *First* of all the Book of Conscience, that was all Stained with Crimson Inscriptions, would have been more terrible unto us than Hell it self ; yet when this Conscience is sprinkled with the Blood of Christ, Heb. 10. 22. the Conscience is Healed, the Stains Obliterated, the Accounts Discharged, and Colour thereof quite changed :

ed: And though as well the Conscience, as the Sins inscribed in it, were as Scarlet, *they are become as white as Snow,* Isai. i. 18..

Secondly, And as thus the Conscience is healed, and all the Black and Bloody Inscriptions thereof Defaced, so is Almighty God pleased, upon the same Account, to strike out all the remembrance of Sins past out of his Book of Remembrance: This is that which is so frequently expressed by those effectual expressions, Psal. 22. 1. *Sin covered Isa. 43. 25. Blotting out Transgressions, so as they shall not be remembred.* Isai. 44. 22. *Blotting them out as a Cloud, that after its Dissipation leaves no mark where it was.* Jer. 50. 20. *So discharging them, that upon a diligent search they shall not be found.* Nay, they shall not only be removed from the view of Men and Angels, but even in the account of Almighty God they shall be as if they never had been, *Jer. 31. 34. For I will forgive their Iniquity, and remember their Sin no more.*

And all this ariseth upon the producing of that Third Book by the Mediator unto the Father, *Revel. 20. 12. A Book of Life;* a Register of all those whose Debt our Lord hath paid: and the Debt being Discharged, the former Books are no longer to be used as Evidence against them. Their Dear Mediator, who is now to be their Judge, brings in an Acquittance for all that Large Roll, which otherwise might have stood against them, *For he hath born their Sins, Isa. 53. 11.* And upon the Day of his Passion, Nailed this Hand-writing unto his Cross, hanged it upon the File, as that which he hath paid, and so is no more to be mention'd.

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Fourthly,

Fourthly, We, come to the *Rule*, whereby all Men shall be Judged. Though in respect of the most Infinite Obligation of the Creature unto God for their greatest Good, their Being, and their Preservation; it had been most unquestionably Just, that upon the ground of this absolute and infinite Dominion over his Creatures, he might have imposed what Law, and under what Sanction he pleased; yet he was pleased to enter into a Pact and Covenant with his Creature, and so to bind him, not simply upon the Absolutions of his own Power and Authority, but partly even upon the voluntary Susception, Stipulation and Submission of his Creature. And the Law of this Covenant is that which shall be the Rule of the Judgment of that Great Day. Now this Covenant of God is double :

I. The Covenant of Works; the Covenant made with Man in his first Creation; and this extends to all Mankind, as before appears, which is a Covenant of Life, in case of Perfect Obedience to the Will and Law of God given to Man in his Creation; and a Covenant of Death, and the Curse, in case of any failing. And when afterwards this Covenant, and the remembrance thereof, was very much defaced, God was pleased expressly to renew the same with a Select People, which he picked out of Mankind, the Jews; which Renewed Covenant differ'd from the former:

First, In the Extent of it; the former was Universal; this contracted to a Select People: Yet so, as it did not Abrogate the former, but Illustrate it.

Secondly,

Secondly, In the Nature of it: For whereas the former was purely a Covenant of Works, this was not so; but though it seemed to run in the same tenor, yet there was under it secretly lodged a Covenant of Grace, even the Sacrifice of Christ Typified in it, intended by it, and that alone made it useful to as many as laid hold of that Mystery that was intended in it according to that Manifestation that God was pleased to send along with it.

II. The Covenant of Grace, *Christ Jesus*, and him Crucified, Received, as Given by God; and this Receiving of *Christ* was the very Tenor of this Covenant.

God was pleased, after the Covenant of Works became ineffectual unto Mankind, in respect of their disability to perform it, to reach out Christ unto them, as a Covenant of Life to as many as Receive him: and the Ordinary way of Receiving him, is, *By Believing in his Name*, John 1. 12. Now, according to these Covenants, shall the whole World be Judged. For all Mankind are under one of these Covenants: Whosoever is not within the latter, is certainly within the compass of the former.

Now of such as are under that First Covenant, as not being Partakers of the Benefit of the Second, there are Four Ranks of Men given us in the Scripture.

First,

First, Such as are purely under the First Covenant, without any farther degree: Such are those that never heard either of Law or Gospel. Such are those spoken of, Rom. 2. 12. *As many as have sinned without the Law, shall perish without Law.*

And though it is true, that God were most just, if he should Judge even these by the severest Rule of that exact Law which was given to *Adam*, because they were within that Covenant; Yet the Scripture warrants us to think, that in that Day he will proceed to Judge these Persons, even by so much of that Law that hath been Communicated to them, either in the External Means of Good Discipline or Education; or that secret Dictate of their own Conscience, stiled by the Apostle, *The Law written in their hearts*, Rom. 2. 14, 15.

This is one of those Two Great Parties that shall be the Object of Vengeance in that Day, *1 Thess. 18. Taking Vengeance on them which know not God, &c.* The Knowledge of God is so visibly discovered in the Creature, that it shall be a most just Conviction of such Persons in that Day, Rom. 1. 20. *For the Invisible things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made even his Eternal Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse.*

And certainly in that Day, the whole World of Men that have the use of Reason, will be found guilty before him, even in these things, in not knowing those things concerning God, which by the

the Light of Nature they might know ; or in not observing some of those very dictates, which that Truth once known or the Light of their own Conscience did carry them unto, without any necessity of resorting to so much of that Law whereof they were ignorant. This is that which is *Perishing without the Law.*

Secondly, Such as, though still under the First Covenant, have nevertheless a Superaddition of Light, and consequently of Guilt, by the accession of that renewed Covenant of Works given by the Ministrations of Moses.

And this concerns principally the Jews, who superadded another Covenant to the former, and so have a superadded Guilt by their Offence.

1. Because against greater Light.

2. Because against a Renewed Covenant, and by them violated, Rom. 2. 12. *Such as have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law;* and is, in effect, the scope of that Second Chapter.

Thirdly, Such as have had an Offer of Christ, the Second Covenant, and yet have rejected it.

These though they are still under the Obligation of the First Covenant, yet by rejecting either the Faith, or Obedience of Christ, they super-add a greater guilt to themselves than any of the former : And therefore it is stiled by our Saviour, the Condemnation, John 3. 19. *This is the Condemnation,*

nation, that Light is come into the World, and Men loved Darkness rather than Light. We have as well those of the first, as those of the latter Rank joyned together, 2 Thess. 1. 8. To render Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. The former are Judged, because the Works of God leave them unexcusable in their Ignorance of God, or neglect of the Duty that results upon that Knowledge; The latter are Judged unexcusable, because the Gospel and the Message of it is Proclaimed to them, and yet rejected by them.

Fourthly, Such as have not only the Light of Nature, the Light of the Written Law of God, the Light of the Gospel tendred, but that Light in some measure received, and afterwards rejected, which adds Apostacy to their Rebellion: and this super-adds a higher Guilt than any of the Former, Heb. 10. 26. If we sin wilfully, after we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remains no Sacrifice for Sin, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery Indignation.

The former sorts of Men are not within the Benefit of the Second Covenant, nor can expect the Fruit thereof in the Judgment.

But there are a Company of Persons that have laid hold of this Second Covenant, and shall be Judged by it: Such as have received Christ as he is Reached out unto the World:
Received

Received him as their Righteousness, as their Sacrifice, as their Instructor, as their Commander and General.

The Obedience of Faith is as Universal as the Law, or Command of Faith, it fastens upon every part of its Object: And to such there is no Condemnation, Rom. 8. 1. *Who so ever believeth in me shall not come into Condemnation, but is passed from Death to Life,* John 5. 24.

This Discharge and Acquittal of these Persons stands bottomed upon the Immutable Truth and Justice of God. For though it was his own free and undeserved Goodness that at first moved him to tender this Second Covenant to Mankind, to Accept of the Righteousness and Satisfaction of Another for them. And when none in Heaven or Earth could be found to Perform the one, or Undergo the other, to send his own Son to do and Suffer it, and to Proclaim to Mankind, that as many as betake themselves to this Covenant, and do accordingly lay hold of it, to give to them the Pardon of their Sins, and the Enjoyment of Blessedness.

Yet when this great word is pronounced by him, his Truth and Justice are engaged in the Performance of it: The Righteousness and Satisfaction of Christ is as effectually theirs, as if performed by them: Their Debt Paid, and their Persons Accepted.

And

And so in that Great Day, the Great God shall, in the Face of the whole WORLD, have the Glory as well of his JUSTICE, as of his MERCY, in the SALVATION of his Saints.

2 Tim.

2. Tim. I. 10.

And hath brought Life and Immortality to light through the Gospel.

AMONG the many Great Advantages that are Conveyed unto Mankind by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, there are these of Principal Moment.

First, A full and clear discovery, that there is a State of Life and Immortality of Mankind after the Dissolution of the Lives we enjoy in this Inferior World.

Secondly, A full and clear Discovery of the Nature and Kinds of this Estate of Life and Immortality, namely, that it is a State of Rewards and Punishments; a State of Reward with Everlasting Life and Happiness to the Righteous, and a State of Everlasting Life and Misery to the Wicked.

Thirdly, A full discovery of an easie and effectual Means of the avoiding of that Future Life of Misery, and of the attainment of that Future Estate of Life of Happiness.

I shall not enter into a Large Discourse of these Excellent Discoveries, but only briefly consider these things.

i. The

1. The great Importance of the true and evident Discovery of these great Truths.

2. The great deficiency that there was in these Discoveries, before the Light of the Gospel came into the World.

3. The great Discovery made by the Gospel of these great and important Truths.

4. The great Evidences for the satisfaction and Conviction of the Truths of these Discoveries thus made in the Gospel.

1. Concerning the former of these, namely, the great Importance of this Truth, and of the full and evident discovery thereof. And this appears evident to every Man that doth but consider the nature of this Matter.

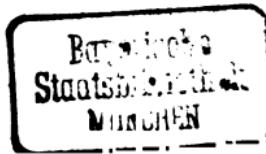
We are Born, and Live in this World, according to the greatest ordinary Account, about Threescore and Ten Years, and then we die, and are no more seen in this World. Of what a vast Momentous Concernment is it for us to know, that there is an Everlasting Estate of Happiness or Misery, according to the nature of the Transaction of our Lives here, that doth most certainly and infallibly attend us after Death? The importance of the knowledge of this is more than all the rest of our knowledge of all other things, in very many respects: *First*, The bare knowledge of the thing it self is a most excellent Subject to be known, if there were nothing else in it. But, *Secondly*, It is a knowledge of a thing that doth most necessarily, nearly, and intimately

mately concern us; even much more than our very Lives in this World. This Life passeth away as a shadow, but the Life of Rewards and Punishments is a Life Everlasting, and Unchangeable; and therefore it is of more concernment to us, both to know it, and to know how to attain that Blessed Life of Happiness, than to attain all the Glory and Happiness that this present Transitory Life can afford. And, *Thirdly*, The Knowledge of this Truth is of huge Moment, not only for the right ordering of our present Life here, in order to the attainment of that Everlasting Blessed Life; but even for a Right, and Wise, and Comfortable Management and Enjoyment of the present Life we have in this World. For most certainly, without the Prospect, Hope and expectation of this Future State, the Life of Man is more unhappy and miserable than the lives of the Beasts that perish. The knowledge therefore of this great Truth is of the greatest Moment to the Children of Men; and the Ignorance thereof is the most unhappy and hurtful Ignorance of any thing in the World; because it is an Ignorance of that, which most concerns us to know, because that Knowledge is principally necessary for the avoiding of the greatest Evil, and the attaining of the greatest Good that can possibly befall us.

2. Touching the Second; namely the Deficiency that was in the World, in order to the Discovery, before the Gospel came: This principally consisted in these things; 1. A want of a sufficient Evidence, that there is any such Estate after Death.
2. A want of a sufficient Light, to discover what that Future Estate was to be. 3. A want of a discovery of a sufficient means, how that part of the

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Estate of Everlasting Happiness was to be attained, and the Estate of Everlasting Misery to be avoided. And this Deficiency in these things will appear, if we take a Survey, First, of the State of the *Gentile* Knowledge, in Relation to these things. Secondly, In Relation to the Discoveries made to the *Jews* under the Law.

First, As to the Discoveries of these Truths unto the *Gentile*. It is very true, that partly by an Universal Tradition, derived probably from the Common Parents of Mankind, partly by some Glimmering of Natural Light, in the Natural Consciences at least of some of the Heathen, there seemed to be some Common Perswasion of a Future Estate of Rewards and Punishments. But, First, It was but weak and dim, and was even in many of the wisest of them overborn; so that it was rather a lispition, or at most a weak and faint Perswasion, rather than a strong and firm Conviction: And hence it became very unoperative and ineffectual to the most of them, when they had greatest need of it namely, upon imminent, or incumbent Temporal Evils of great Pressure. But, where the Perswasion was firmest amongst them, yet still they were in the Dark what it was; and yet much more in the Dark, in reference to the means of attaining that Future State of Happiness; and this Darkness begot in them those various Fictions and Fabulous Imaginations, especially among the Poets, that even rendred the Main Hypothesis more doubtful than otherwise it would have been. And those various Superstitions, and Idolatrous Worships and Rites, and Performances, which they designed as the Means of attaining that Future Happiness, which they thus Darkly, and, under various Fabulous Disguises, entertained.

Secondly,

Secondly, If we come to the Discoveries made unto the *Jews* which were certainly much greater than those that the *Gentiles* had by the Light of Nature; yet this we have reason to think that although many Excellent Men among them, did, through those many Types, and Shadows, as it were at a distance, see the Heavenly *Canaan*, and the *Messiah*, through whom it was to be attained. Yet the Divine Dispensation under the Law was Dark and Obscure, in Relation to the Estate of Future Rewards and Punishments, in comparison of what is Revealed in the Gospel. Their Promises were, for the most part, of Temporal Benefits, and their Threatnings of Temporal Punishments, and their Worship and Services were very much under Shadows and External Administrations, so were their Rewards and Punishments.

Yet it must be agreed, that even under that Dark Administration, there were greater Evidences of the Future Life than were manifested generally to other Nations: The Examples of the Assumption of *Enoch* and *Elias*, the Revivings of the *Shunamites* Son, Buried in the Prophet's Grave, and the several Passages in *Job* 19. 25. *Isai.* 26. 19. *Ezek.* 37. *Dan.* 12. 2. and divers other Passages in the Old Testament; together with a common Received Tradition among that Nation, did give them a Belief, or Perswasion of a Life to come after this, and of the Resurrection; and this the Apostle witnesseth of the Patriarchs, and Holy Men under the Old Testament, *Heb.* 11. 10, 13, 14, 35, &c. And so far this Perswasion was settled in that People, that in the time of our Saviour, and unto this Day, the Perswasion of a Future Life, and the Resurrection was generally received among them, excepting only the *Sect of the Sadduces:*

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But although this be certainly true, yet these things are evident, *viz.* *First*, That the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and the Future Life was not so clearly deliver'd under the *Old Testament*, as under the *New*. *Secondly*, That the Proof and Evidence thereof was not so plain and Convincing under the *Old Testament*, as under the *New*. *Thirdly*, That the Manner and Circumstances thereof was not so explicitly and directly delivered under the *Old Testament* as under the *New*, as will appear in what ensues.

Thirdly, Therefore touching the Discoveries of Life and Immortality by the Gospel *Christ Jesus*, the same Gospel hath these Prelations and Pre-eminentnes in Relation thereunto, *viz.* 1. It doth contain a full and explicit Narrative thereof. 2. It doth deliver a full and clear Method of the attaining of the State of Happiness, and avoiding the State of Misery that it thus discovers. 3. It Evidenceth and Aslerteth the Truth and Certainty of what it so delivers, upon most evident and convincing Evidences.

Touching the former of these, the Gospel doth principally Instruct us in these Two Matters, in Relation to the business in hand; namely, *First*, It doth assert, that there is a Life to ensue after this Transitory Life, and it rests not there in that General Assertion; but, *Secondly*, It shews us, with great plainness, what that Life is; *viz.* 1. That it is an Everlasting Life: That it is a Life of Everlasting Rewards and Happiness to the Good of Everlasting Punishments and Misery to the Bad: That there shall be, as the way to these Everlasting Rewards and Punishments, a Resurrection of the Good and Bad.

Bad, and a Re-union of their Bodies and Souls ; and a Change of those that are Living. That this shall be Effect ed by the Voice of an Arch-Angel, Proclaiming the Last Judgment, with Summoning all to it. That hereupon an Universal Judgment shall pass upon every Man, shews us, who shall be the Judge, what shall be the Rule of his Judgment, what the Evidences, what the Sentence, what the Execution of either Sentence ; namely, of Absolution, a perfect enjoyment of Everlasting Happiness, in an Immortal Soul, united with a Glorious, Spiritualized and Immortal Body : And of the Sentence of Condemnation, with an Everlasting Separation from the Comfortable Presence of God, and an Everlasting Conclusion of Soul and Body under the Torments of Hell Fire. And all these Discoveries are made plainly, evidently, and intelligible to the Sense of every ordinary Capacity , together with the Circumstances of Time, Place, Persons, Company, and all other things that may render the whole Manifestation plain, perspicuous, intelligible and reasonable.

2. The Second thing the Gospel discovers, is the Means and Method of the attaining of that Life of Happiness, and avoiding that Life of Misery. And surely, without this, the Discovery of the former had not been so useful to Mankind : It might indeed amuse and astonish, and perplex him, to know, that there should be such a Future Estate, either of Happiness or Misery, unto one of which all Mankind was Consigned. But it could not settle, nor compose him, without the Knowledge of the Means of obtaining so great a Good, and avoiding so great an Evil as this prospect dis-

covers: The Gospel therefore hath not only discover'd these Two Great, though different Sentiments, of the Future Life, but hath also laid open, and discover'd the Track, the Path, the Way, to avoid the one, and attain the other; even a plain, and certain, and safe, and Infallible Way; namely, the Repentance for Sin past, Obedience for the time to come, and Faith in the Son of God, who is the Resurrection, the Way, the Truth, and the Life: And his Doctrine and Directions are plainly set out in the Gospel, intelligible to every common Understanding, and easie to any sincere and honest Endeavour.

3. The Third Prelation and Advantage of the Gospel, in reference to this Discovery of Life and Immortality, is that it doth not only give that clear, and Explicite Discovery thereof before-mention'd, but also it gives the most full and clear Evidence, that what it so discovers, is most certainly and infallibly True: and annexeth to the Discovery a full and conyincing Manifestation of the Truth of the thing so discover'd, answerable to the weight and importance of the thing discover'd.

It is very true, that Almighty God out of his Care and Providence over Mankind, in order to their Everlasting End, hath been Graciously pleased to afford unto Mankind certain Evidences of this Great Truth, of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments; as namely, 1. A secret Anticipation, as it were, in the Minds and Consciences of the Generality of Mankind of this Truth: 2. An Universal Tradition thereof, which hath, in great measure, reached unto the Generality of Mankind, and by them

them commonly received: Which, although it hath been handed over from Man to Man, yet we have all the reason imaginable to believe it real at first, by some means in its first Original, delivered out to the Parents of Mankind, by Revelation from God himself. 3. An Admirable Congruity of this Supposition, both to the Justice and Perfection, which, even by the Light of Nature, we are bound to attribute to Almighty God; and also a Suitable-ness and Congruity thereof to the Condition and Exigence of Mankind, and the Providential Regiment and Ordering thereof.

But in as much as by length of time, and distance of this first Revelation, and the want of a perspicuous Evidence of the manner of giving out of this first Revelation, and also for that by the Prevalence of the Corruptions, and decays of the Nature of Men, this great Important Truth of the Future Life of Rewards and Punishments, did, or at least might languish and decay in the Minds of Men. Almighty God hath been pleased, by Reiterated and Repeated Revelations of this Truth, by New Editions of Revelations thereof, in his Written Word, to reinforce the same, that so it might be more Effectual, Operative, and Forceable upon Mankind, in order to the Right Ordering of his Life here, and the attaining of his Great and Everlasting End.

And this he began to do in the *Old Testament*, under the Dispensation of the *Jewish Oeconomy*; but far more clearly, and Universally under the Evangelical Dispensation by *Christ Jesus*, and with far greater advantage and Conviction of the Truth, and Certainty thereof.

The Evidence and Manifestation of the Truth and Certainty of this Supposition, is seen principally in these things.

1. That he that made this Discovery, was the best able to give us the true State of Mankind after Death: For, being the Son of God, a Teacher sent from him, and acquainted with all his Will, none could give us a more perfect Account of what God Almighty intended or designed, touching the Children of Men. For it is most certain, that the whole stress of the business, touching the Future State of Mankind, must principally and primarily depend upon the most Wise, Just, yet free Disposal and Counsel of Almighty God. He therefore, and he only, who was fully acquainted with the real purpose and design of Almighty God, touching Mankind, must needs be able to give us a full and compleat Account of this great and hidden Counsel, which could only lie in the Knowledge of God himself, or of such one to whom he was pleased to reveal it: When the Rich Man was in Hell, he desired that some Person might be sent from the Dead, to acquaint his Brethren with the State of Men after Death; and he thought, that a Relation from such a Person, who had seen or experimented that State, should be the most credible and effectual means to gain assent from the Living. But had he understood, that the same God, who not only understood the State of Mankind after Death, by what he had seen touching them that were already Departed this Life; but also perfectly knew the Mind and Purpose of his Father touching Mankind, should have come in the Flesh, and manifest himself to be

be the Son of God; and that he came to acquaint Mankind with his Father's Counsel and Purpose, touching the Future State of Mankind, he would have desired no other Messenger to acquaint his Brethren therewith.

2. *Christ* did not only declare, and profess himself to be the Son of God, a Teacher sent from God; nor did he only publish this Great Declaration and Discovery, touching the Future State of Mankind, and that he was sent into the World on purpose, to acquaint the World with this Message; but also he did, by the plainest and greatest Evidence imaginable, or that could possibly be desired to acquire credibility, manifestly declare, and prove, that his Mission and Message was Unquestionably True; Namely, by the great Miracles he did, by the Holiness of his Life, and by Dying to Attest and Assert it.

2. The Great and Admirable Work of his own Resurrection, did give an Invincible Evidence of the Truth as of all other his Doctrines, so especially of these, touching the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection, and the Future State after Death: And the Resurrection, of *Christ* hath a double Force, Evidence, or Conviction in this respect. *First*, This Resurrection of *Christ* was indeed the Greatest and Crowning Miracle of his whole Life; and as his other Miracles did Attest the Truth of his Mission and Doctrine, so this being the most Signal and Weighty of all, upon the Effecting, or not Effecting whereof, the whole Credit of his Mission and Doctrine depended: And also being of the highest nature of any of the rest
of

of his Miracles, did most Effectually, and Consummately seal the Truth of his Mission, and the very Divineness and Credit of all his other Miracles: For he was declared the Son of God with Power, by the Resurrection from the Dead. And hence it is that there is no one thing in the Gospel hath more Evidence of Fact to prove the Truth and Reality, nor greater Weight laid upon it, than that *Christ* was really Dead, and did really Rise again, from the Dead. *Secondly*, But farther, The Resurrection of *Christ* seems to be in a most Specifical and Appropriate manner applicable, and applyed to prove the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Future Estate of Mankind after Death: It is the Great Stumbling-Block in the way of the Faith of Men, to think, how there should be a Life after Death: The *Athenian Philosophers* Mocked, when they heard of it, as a thing Incredible, *Acts* 17. 32. And if Men would be but Conquered from this Difficulty, the greatest Difficulty were overcome. And indeed the Resurrection of *Christ* seems to be the greatest Pledge imaginable, not only of the possibility of a Future State after Death, but of the real Existence of it. And therefore that Excellent Sermon of *Paul* to the *Athenians*, *Acts* 17. 31. lays the Great Weight of the Truth of the Judgment to come, and the Future State of Rewards and Punishments, upon this; *Because he hath appointed a Day wherein he will Judge the World in Righteousness*, by that *Man whom he hath Ordained*, whereof he hath given assurance unto all *Men in that he hath Raised him from the Dead*: As if he should have said, Ye *Athenian Philosophers*, it is apparent that one of the Great Obstacles of your Belief of the Judgment to come, and the

Future

Future Estate of Good and Evil after Death, is that you doubt whether the Soul be capable of Fruition or Passion without the Body; and you cannot believe it possible, that there can be a Retreat from a full and compleat Separation of the Body to Life again; your *Philosophical Principles* oppose it. Behold! I tell you, That God hath appointed to Judge the World by *Christ*; the same *Christ* hath said so in that Gospel which I come to publish to you: And, at once to Seal and Evidence the Truth he so declared; and to convince you of your vain Confidence, in your *Philosophical Perswasions*, That same *Christ* was Dead, died a Violent Death; his Blood poured out upon the Ground, and lay in the Grave till the Third Day, that all the World might be ascertained, that he was fully Dead, and that of such a Death, that if any were uncapable of Reviving again he was: His Blood, the Vehicle of Life, spilt upon the Ground: Yet this *Christ* Lived again the Third Day, to assure the World of the Truth of his Word, that he would Judge the World; and of the possibility and truth of your Resurrection and mine, by the Divine Power, 1 Cor. 15. 20. *He is Risen from the Dead, and become the First-fruits of them that sleep.*

Acts

Acts II. 1, &c.

*And when the Day of Pentecost was
fully come, &c.*

IN this Great and Miraculous Diffusion of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, These things are very observable ;

I. The Time, when it happened.

II. The Place, where it happened.

III. The Persons to, and among whom it happened.

IV. The Kind and Manner of the Miracle it self,

I. Touching the Time or Season, wherein it happened, it was upon the Day of *Pentecost*, next ensuing the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord.

The People of *Israel* had several Solemn Feasts, Instituted by Almighty God : And many of them had a Three-fold Use, namely, 1. *Historical*, in Commemoration of some signal thing fit to be remembred. 2. *Religious*, or *Ceremonial*, for some Special Service to be performed unto Almighty God in those Times. 3. *Typical*, and in some kind Pro-

Prophetical of some Eminent Observable Relating to the *Messias* that was to Come; and carrying some Eminent Prefiguration of some Eminent Occurrence that should be found in, or concerning the Promised *Messias*. Thus the Great Wisdom of Almighty God in these Institutions, Involved and Complicated these several Uses and Ends.

Among those many Instituted Feasts and Solemnities, there were Two of very great Remark; namely, the *Paschal Feast*, and the *Feast of Pentecost*.

The Feast of *Pascha* was Instituted upon their coming out of *Egypt*, Exod. 12. And again, Commanded, *Levit.* 23. and *Deut.* 16. upon the Tenth Day of the first Month *Abib* (answering nearest to our Months of *March* and *April*) they were to choose a *Lamb*, and to kill him the 14th Day of that Month at Even: And to Eat him with *Unleavened Bread* that Night, *Exod.* 12. 3, 6. This was the beginning of the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*. But because the Solemnity of Festivals and Sabbaths among the *Jews* began from the Evening of the Day preceding, and ended at the Evening of the Day following: Therefore the Evening of this Fourteenth Day was carried over to the Day following, and both are reckoned as the 15th Day, and the 15th Day is reckoned the First Day of the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*, *Levit.* 23. 6. This Fifteenth Day was a Day of Great Solemnity, and so was the 7th Day following, for so long the Feast of *Unleavened Bread* lasted, *Exod.* 12. 16. The next Day after the first Day of the Feast, namely, the 16th Day of that Month, the Priest was to receive a Sheaf of the First-fruits, and to *Wave it before the Lord*, *Levit.* 23. 11. For in those Countries

reys of Palestine, their Corn-harvest began early namely, about their *Paschal-Feast*, as appears, *Deut.* 16. 9. And it seems that the time when the Disciples of Christ pulled the *Ears of Corn*, *Luke* 6. 1. was about the *Paschal Solemnity*, namely, the Second Sabbath after the First, which seems to be the Computation of the Sabbaths between *Pascha* and *Pentecost*, or the Second *Paschal Sabbath*.

The Feast of *Pentecost*, called, *The Feast of Weeks*, *Deut.* 16. This was Instituted, *Levit.* 23. 15. *And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the Day that ye brought the Sheaf of the Wave Offering, Seven Sabbaths shall be Compleat, even unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath shall ye number Fifty Days, &c.*

This Feast of *Pentecost* it seems was always to be the Morrow after the Sabbath-day, or the First-day of the Week: And although our Computation and the Computation of the *Jews*, in Relation to their *Paschal Solemnity*, differed, yet it seems herein they both agree, that it was to be on the First-day of the Week, only our Computation of Fifty Days includes our *Easter-Day*; their Computation of the Forty Days began from the *Pascha* Exclusive of the First-day of the Feast.

Though we have it not Expressed in the Scripture, yet it is generally received among the *Jews*, that the reason of the Institution of this Feast, was, in remembrance of the giving of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*, which was, as they say, the Fiftieth day after the First-day of the First Passover, when the People departed out of *Egypt*. And besides this Tradition, the Holy Text tells us, *Exod.* 19. 1. That they came to *Sinai* in the third Month: And *Exod.* 19. 11. The third day following the *Law*
was

was given: And if we shall reckon their Month's like the Months of the *Egyptians*, viz. Thirty Days to a Month: Then reckoning 50 Days from the Fifteenth day of the First Month Exclusively for the giving of the *Law*, it happened upon the Fifth day of the Third Month; but if we reckon them by *Lunar Months*, viz. One 29 Days, the other 30 Days; then it was the Seventh day of the Third Month: Either of which agrees thus far with the Holy Text, and also with the Tradition of the *Jews*, touching the reason of the Institution of this Solemn Feast; That the *Law* was given upon *Kar*, near the Fiftieth day after their departure out of *Egypt*.

Touching the Congruity or Correspondency between the Typical *Paschal* and the True Passover, the Death of *Christ*, the same seems Plain: 1. *Christ* our Passover, a Lamb without Blemish, was slain: The Paschal Lamb was an Emblem, and a Prefiguration of the Innocence and Purity of the *Messias*, *the Lamb of God that taketh away the Sin of the World*. 2. Not a Bone of the Paschal Lamb was to be broken, *Exod. 12. 46.* fulfilled in our Saviour's Death, *John 19. 36.* Again, 3. The Blood of the Paschal Lamb was to be *stroke upon the Door Posts*, as a Propitiation against the Vengeance of the Destroying Angel, *Exod. 12. 7.* So the Blood of *Christ* was a Propitiation for the Sins of the World: He was *the Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World*. 4. But that which I specially observe, is the season, wherein *Christ* Suffered, being exactly that Day, in the Evening whereof the Paschal Lamb was to be slain: Or the Fourteenth day of the First Month: For it is plain, *Christ* kept the Passover, and Instituted his Supper the Night before his

his Crucifixion, *Matth.* 26. 17, 20. The same Night he was brought to the Counsel of the Jews, where the High Priest sate as Chief; and there they Examined him, and passed Judgment of Death upon him, *Matth.* 26. 57, &c. The next Day they brought him to Pilate, who Condemned him to Death, at the Third Hour, or Nine of the Clock the same Day: This Day is called, *the Preparation of the Sabbath*, *Matth.* 27. 62. *The Preparation*; that is, the Day before the Sabbath, *Mark* 15. 42. *The Preparation and the Sabbath drew on*, *Luke* 23. 54. *The Preparation of the Passover*, *John* 19. 14. And therefore the High-Priest and Scribes entred not into the Judgment-Hall, least they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover, *John* 18. 28. And the Jews, because it was the Preparation, that the Bodies might not remain upon the Cross upon the Sabbath-day (for that Day was a Great Day) besought Pilate, &c. It was a Great Day in it self, for it was the Fifteenth Day of the Month, wherein was to be a Solemn Convocation by the First Institution, as *Exod.* 12. or, *the First Day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread*. And it was a Great Day, because the Jewish Sabbath, or the Seventh Day of the Week did follow with this Solemn Feast. After the Burial of our Saviour, the Women brought Spices, but rested the Sabbath-day, *Luke*. 23. 56. But the Scribes and Pharisees, rested not, for they resorted to Pilate, to have the Sepulchre Sealed, viz. the Day that followed the Day of the Preparation, *Matth.* 27. 62. *The next Day after the Sabbath, early, namely, the First Day of the Week, the Women resorted to the Sepulchre with the Spices*, *Matth.* 28. 1. *Mark* 16. 1. *John* 20. 1.

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This gives us an exact Journal of our Saviour's Death and Resurrection: He was Crucified upon the Sixth Day, the Preparation of the Sabbath, and the Preparation of the Passover; he rested in the Grave the Seventh day of the Week, and arose the First day of the Week, because the Third day from his Crucifixion.

So that Christ our Passover was slain that day wherein the Paschal Lamb was killed, namely, the Fourteenth day of the first Month; for that was the regular time of killing the Passover: though in case of any Legal Impediment it might be Protracted, or deferred to the fourteenth day of the second Month, *Numb. 9. 11. 2 Chron 13. 15.*

And it seems the Jewish Computation of the Months being *Lunar*, their Computation of the fourteenth day of the first Month, was the fourteenth day after the first Full Moon that happened after the Vernal Equinox: And this Custom was long kept among the Christians, till by the Western Church, under Constantine, it was reduced to be held upon the Lord's-day, according to a Ciele Established and Observed in the Chu ch; whereas the Jewish *Pascba* fell sometimes on one day of the Week, sometimes on another, as their *Luna quarta decima* happened.

Now that which makes some difficulty, touching the day of the *Messiah's Passion*, viz. Whether it were upon that day, in the Evening whereof the *Pascbal Lamb* was slain; or the fourteenth day of the first Month; or whether the next day after, namely, the fifteenth day, which was the Great Solemn Feast, or the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, seems to be this, because it is apparent by the Evangelist, that our Saviour did Eat

the Passover the Night before his Passion ; and consequently upon the Fourteenth day of the First Month, according to the *Mosaical Institution*, and consequently the day of his Passion was upon the First day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread ; which, though it were the first day, yet it was antecedent to the *Jewish Sabbath* that followed the next day.

To this it is variously answered, *First*, Some say, that although by the Divine Institution, the Passover was to be eaten the Fourteenth day at Even, at which time our Lord did eat it with his Disciples, according to the true Legal Institution : Yet the *Jews* had a Tradition among them, that if the Fourteenth day of the First Month happened upon the First, Third, or Fifth day of the Week, the *Paschal Lamb* was not to be that Night, but the Night following ; and consequently the Lamb was Slain the Fifteenth day, and the Solemn first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread was to succeed upon the Sixteenth day ; and accordingly it was done here ; *Christ* and his Disciples did Eat the Passover upon the Fourteenth day, according to the Divine Institution, and the Generality of the *Jews* upon the Fifteenth day, according to their Tradition. *Secondly*, Again, others say, That upon Eminent occasions it was Lawful to Anticipate a day in the Eating of the Passover ; and that our Lord foreseeing his time was drawing near, wherein he must suffer, intending to eat the Passover, and Institute his Supper before he left the World, anticipated the Celebration of the Passover : But this seems hard, for it appears by the Three Evangelists, that the Disciples took notice that the Solemn time was come, and spake first of it to our Lord, *Matho. 26. 17. Mark 14. 12.* Therefore,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Some think that the Council of the Jews having a Resolution to destroy our Saviour, and yet before the Great Solemnity of the Feast, *Matth.* 26. 5. *Mark* 14. 2. did Procrastinate the Solemnity a day beyond the Set-time; which the Sanhedrim, or the Great Council of the Jews, pretended Power to do; being those that did Authoritatively decide the Time of the New Moon, and their Occasional Intercalation of days, to put off the Solemnity for a day or more, according to their Decisions. Whether these, or any of these be the True Cause, yet it is apparent, that the Eating of the Passover by Christ was upon the 5th day of the week at Even, or upon the Thursday; and that the Eating of the Passover by the Generality of the People and Priests, was upon the 6th day of the week at Even, at which day Christ our Passover was slain.

But besides this Concordance in the Time of the death of Christ upon the Paschal Solemnity, there are some Observables touching this Great Feast that seems to bear some Prefiguration of our Messiah, and the End of his Suffering. I do not remember above five Remembrances of the Paschal Solemnity under the Old Law, viz. 1. Upon the Deliverance out of Egypt, *Exod.* 12. agreeing with the Great Deliverance by Christ, from the Spiritual Egypt, the Bondage of Sin and Death. 2. Upon the coming of the People into Canaan, *Josh.* 5. 10. An Emblem of the Way opened into the Heavenly Canaan by the Suffering of Christ. 3. That under Josiah, upon a Great Reformation of Idolatry by him, *2 Kings* 13. 21. And, 4. That after the Re-edification of the Temple, and Restitution of the People from Captivity, *Ezra* 6. 21. who was

a Great Repairer of the Jewish Church. 5. That under *Hezekiah*, 2 Chron. 30. which, though it were not observed at the Regular Time, but in the fourteenth day of the second Month, yet it was upon a Great Reformation of the Church, and a Renovation of their Covenant with God. 6. There seems also to be a Remembrance of a Great Passover kept by *Solomon*, 2 Chron. 30. 27. which probably was after his finishing of the Temple. And as all these Persons, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, and *Ezra*, were, in many things, Types of the *Messiah*, so the Business, or Occasions that gave these Signal Solemnities, were such as bore a great Analogy to that Work that our Saviour in his Passion mightily performed, namely, the Deliverance of his People from the Slavery of Sin, and Death and Hell, the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers: the Reformation of the Errors and Lives of Mankind, the Solemnization of a New Covenant between God and Man, and the Erection and Establishing of a Living Temple unto God, namely, his Church, *against which the gates of Hell should not prevail*. And although I doubt not there were often Anniversary *Paschal Feasts*, between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the Return from the Captivity: Yet the Spirit of God taking a more particular notice of these Great and Solemn Passovers, seems to give us occasion to observe them, with Relation to *Christ* our Great Passover.

The things remarkable in the Analogy of the *Feast of Pentecost*, seem to be these:

First, That as there were 51 days from the first *Pascha*, and the Giving of the *Law* (in Memory whereof

whereof the Feast of Pentecost was Instituted) so there were the like measure of time between the Oblation of Christ, the True Paschal Lamb, and the Signal Mission of the Holy Ghost, in the Feast of Pentecost.

Secondly, That upon that time, wherein it pleased God to Promulge the Law, the Tenor of the Old Covenant with the People of Israel, he also chose to Publish the New Covenant in the Blood of Christ to all Mankind.

Thirdly, That as the Promulgation of the Law was especially with Two Sensible Manifestations, namely, the great Sound of the Trumpet, that *waxed louder and louder*, Exod. 19. 16. And the Audible giving of the Law by the Voice of God, Exod. 20. And the Voice of Thunder, all which affected the Sense of Hearing. And also the Appearance of Fire and Smoke, the Mountain burning with Fire to the midst of Heaven, which affected the Sense of Seeing: Both which great Impressions upon those two Senses of Discipline, are briefly described by the Apostle, Heb. 12. 18, 19. So this Promulgation of the Gospel was made upon this day, though not with equal Terror, yet, in an *Analogy* of External Signs: 1. To the Eye, the Holy Ghost descending upon the Apostles in Cloven Tongues like fire; 2. To the Sense of Hearing, namely, the rushing mighty wind, answering to the Thunder and Voice of the Trumpet in the giving of the Law; and the speaking with Tongues, not only Audible, but Intelligible, to People of several Nations and Languages.

Fourthly, That as the *Law* was Published to the Full Assembly of the People of *Israel*, so the *Gospel* was Published to a Full Assembly of Persons of almost all Nations, *Acts 25*. For *Jerusalem*, as it was a Great City, that received many Foreigners, so especially at this Solemn Feast, many *Jews* and Proselytes resorted hither from all Countries of their Dispersion.

Fifthly, That as the *Law* was Published in the Mount of God, *Sinai in the Wilderness*; so this Solemn Promulgation of the *Gospel* was made in the City of *Jerusalem*, ordinarily Styled, *The City of God, and Mount Sion*: Thus as the Promulgation of the *Law* begun in *Mount Sinai*, so the Promulgation of the *Gospel* began in *Mount Sion*, and from thence derived through all the World.

Besides what hath been observed, there seems also a strange Suitableness and Congruity in proportion of Times and Occasions: I shall reckon up some of the former, and some others.

1. The Oblation of the *Messiah* upon the day that the *Paschal Lamb* was to be slain.

2. His Rest in the Grave upon that double Sabbath, as I may call it, for the First day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, wherein no Work was to be done, fell upon the Seventh, or Sabbath-day of the Week.

3. His Resurrection was upon the First day of the Week, the day of the Creation of all things; and

and the day appointed by the *Law* for the Oblation of the *Sheaf of First-fruits*, prefiguring the Resurrection of *Christ*, who is therefore called the *First-fruits of them that Sleep*, 1 Cor. 15. 20. Compared with Levit. 23. 10. So that although the *Paschal* Feast was not limited to any certain day of the week, yet the Co-incidence thereof to the Seventh day of the week, made an admirable Harmony in the Incidence of Times: For,

4. The Wise God choosing this Season for the Suffering of the *Messiah*, gave our Saviour's Resurrection to be the First day of the week, which we Commemorate in the place of the *Jewish Sabbath*; and gave the Feast of *Pentecost* to be likewise the First day of the week, whereby there happened a Co-incidence of Two Great Matters, namely, the day of the Resurrection, and the day of the Mission of the Holy Spirit, which gave the occasion to the Christian Church to keep the Feast of *Pentecost* upon the Lord's day, namely, the 50th day after the *Pascua Christianum*: So the Co-incidence and Communication of both these days gave Testimony and Attestation each to other; whereas if the *Jewish Pascua* had not happened upon the *Jewish Sabbath*, the next *Pentecost* could not have happened upon the *Christian Sabbath*.

*And when the Day of Pentecost
was fully come, they were all
with one Accord in one place, &c.*

I Will consider, upon this occasion, these things :
 1. The Reason of the Day of *Pentecost*, and the Reason of that Institution : 2. The Reason why this Great Dispensation was at this time, and the Analogy it bears with the Institution. 3. The Parts of this Miraculous Dispensation. 4. The End and Use of it, and the Instruction arising from it.

For the *First* of these : We read, *Exod. 12. 2, 6.* of the Institution of the *Passover* (the Greatest *Jewish* Feast and Solemnity) and the time of its Celebration, and the Reason of it. 1. There is the Institution, or Change of the Month : *This Month, viz. Abib, shall be unto you the beginning of Months, the First Month of the Year.* 2. There is the Designation of that Portion of this Month, for the Celebration of the *Passover*, in the Tenth day of this Month, every Householder was to separate the *Passchal Lamb*; and in the 14th day thereof they were to kill and eat it, at the Evening of that day, *Exod. 12. 3, 6.* Again, 3. There is set down the Solemnity that was to be used touching it; wherein, among divers others, there were these; it was

to be a Lamb without Blemish; it was to be Roasted whole, not a Bone thereof to be Broken; it was to be eaten with Unleavened Bread, and Bitter Herbs, and in Haste, and nothing thereof to be left till the morning.

4. There is the Reason of the Institution, viz. to be a Perpetual Memorial of the Goodness and Mercy of God unto that People, *First*, In sparing and passing over their Families, when the Destroying Angel slew all the *First-born of the Egyptians*. *Secondly*, in bringing them out of that State of Captivity and Bondage, into a State of Liberty and Freedom, *Exod. 12. 26, 51.*

At the Season wherein this Feast was to be Celebrated, they were to present unto Almighty God *a Sheaf of their First-fruits of their Harvest*, as a Recognition and Tribute unto God, *Levit. 23. 10.* for according to the Temperament of that Climate their Fruits were early, so that there might be that Present brought. This was to be done on the Morrow after the Sabbath, *Levit. 23. 11.* which seems to be the Morrow after their *Paschal Sabbath*: From this day they were to account 50 days unto the Morrow of the Seventh Sabbath, *Levit. 23. 16.* and this was the Feast of *Pentecost*: which Feast was, according to the Tradition of the Jews, Instituted in Memory of the giving of the *Law* upon *Mount Sinai*. And though this Reason be not expressed thereof in the Holy Scripture, yet the distance from the time of their passing out of *Egypt*, unto the time of the giving of the *Law* upon *Sinai*, seems to answer the distance between the *Paschal Solemnity*, and that of *Pentecost*: for they came out of *Egypt* the 14th day of the first Month, the day of their *Paschal Celebration*, *Exod. 12. 42, 51.* They came to the Wilderness of *Sinai* in the Third Month,

Month, *Exod* 19. 1. the same day they came into the Wilderness of *Sinai*: upon the Third day following was the Law given upon *Sinai*, in that Miraculous and Terrible manner, *Exod* 19. 11. It is not expressed indeed what day of that Third Month it was that the People came to *Sinai*, or that the *Law* was given: If we shall reckon the *Jewish Months* to be *Lunar*, consisting of 29 days and a half to a Month, or which amounts to the same account, one Month to be *Plena*, or Full, consisting of Thirty days; the other to be *Cava*, consisting of 29 days; two Months made up 59 days, to which, if we should add Three days more of the Third Month, the Account will be 62 days, out of which, if we subduct 14 days, there will remain 48; whereunto if we add the 14th day it self, and the next day after, from which the Accompt must be made, unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath, there will remain 50 days; so that upon this Account, they came into *Sinai* upon the First Day of the Third Month, and the Law was given upon the Third day of the same month; So that this Feast of *Pentecost*, commonly in the Old Law called *The Feast of Weeks*, was Instituted as a Solemn Memorial of that Great and Miraculous Giving of the *Law* by Almighty God upon *Mount Sinai*, the One and fiftieth day after the coming out of *Egypt*, and of the first *Paschal* Celebration.

But the Truth is, the Computation of the Fifty days, was not from the morrow of the First day of the *Paschal Feast*, but from the morrow of that Sabbath, that happen'd first in the *Paschal Feast*: For the *Jews* did not observe their *Paschal Solemnity* as we *Christians* do, upon the First Sabbath that happened after the 14th day Inclusively after the New Moon;

Moon; but upon the 14th day it self, upon whatsoever day of the week it happened: For Instance, if the 14th day happened upon the Wednesday, they kept then their Pasover, and the first Sabbath, or Saturday then fell within Eight days of their *Paschal Solemnity*; and the presenting of the *Sheaf* was the next day after that first Sabbath, being always the First day of the week; and from that First day of the week inclusively was the Account of the Fifty days for the Celebration of the Feast of Weeks, or *Pentecost*, which therefore always happened upon the First day of the week; for from the morrow of the First day, next after the First Sabbath, in the *Paschal Solemnity*, unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath, reckoning both Terms inclusively, was their *Pentecost* always observed, which made up their full Fifty days: and therefore though their coming to *Sinai* was in the beginning of the Third month, yet it is not possible to determine in what Precise day of that month they came to *Sinai*, because we know not precisely what day of the week their First *Paschal*, or the 14th day of the First month fell; only it seems evident, that the Feast of Weeks, or *Pentecost*, which began the Fiftieth day after the First Sabbath, in the *Paschal Solemnity*, was in memory of the Law given upon *Sinai*, and that it was given the First day of the Week, on the Fiftieth day after the First Sabbath, in the *Paschal Feast*.

2. As to the Second matter, why this Great Dispensation, viz. The Visible and Audible Manifestation upon the Apostolical Company, was poured out upon this day; the Reason seems to be this, The greatest part of the Jewish Solemnities were intended

tended as Typical to the *Messiah*, that when he should come into the World, these, as well as the Ancient Prophecies, should bear Witness to him, And this is very eminently made good in these Two Great Solemnities, the *Pascha* and the *Pentecost*. The *Messiah* was the true *Paschal Lamb*, Prefigured in that of the *Law*; he was to be slain, yet not a Bone of him to be broken: He was to bring Life, and Immortality to Light, by the Gospel, and to deliver the Elect of God out of that Spiritual *Egypt*, the Bondage of Sin, and Death, and Hell, into the Liberty of the Sons of God: and as all the Solemnities in the *Paschal Sacrifice* were fulfilled in the True *Paschal Lamb*, *Christ Jesus*; So he took that very Precise Time to be Offered up; wherein, according to the Jewish Law, the *Paschal Lamb* was to be slain, and that Solemnity Celebrated.

Our Lord Rose again from Death the first day of the Week; he Conversed upon the Earth about 40 days, and then he was visibly taken into Heaven: by his Life, his Death, his Miracles, his Resurrection, his Ascension, he was effectually declared to be the True *Messias*, the Great Law-giver of the World, the Light, and Hope, and Salvation of the whole World, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. And as Almighty God, by the Hands of *Moses*, and by the Service of Angels, gave his *Law* to the People of *Israel*; so the same God having appointed his Son to be Heir of all things, the Head, the Law-giver, and Governour of his Family on Earth: This Great Law-giver gave his *Law*, not only to the *Jews*, but to all Mankind: And for the more Solemn Publication of this *Law*, and to bear Witness to the Authority of it, he chooseth to use such Circumstances, as though they were not in all particular's
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the same with those of the Giving of the *Law* upon Mount Sinai, especially in the Terror of it, yet they did bear a great Analogy with them :

First, In *Sinai*, there was the Miraculous Voice of an Angel, in the Articular delivery of the *Moral Law*: Here was a Miraculous delivery of the Wonderful Works of God in the several Languages of the World.

Secondly, In *Sinai* there was an Appearance of Fire, flaming up to the midst of Heaven: Here was the appearance of Fire sitting upon every Apostle in the Figure of Cloven Tongues.

Thirdly, There was the Voice of a Trumpet, that waxed louder and louder: Here a Voice from Heaven as of a rushing mighty Wind, that filled the House wherein they were.

Fourthly, As Almighty God chose the Fiftieth day after the *Paschal Sabbath*, for the Promulgation of the *Law*, which had therefore this Solemnity of *Pentecost* Instituted in Memory thereof: So our Lord chooseth that very Feast and Day, fifty days after his own *Paschal Oblation*, to Promulge to all Mankind his *Evangelical Law* in this miraculous manner.

Indeed there are two Circumstances that difference the one from the other. 1. The Promulgation of the *Law* was not only Miraculous, but Terrible, as the History of it evidenceth. But this Promulgation, although Miraculous, yet it was gentle and sweet, bearing a Proportion and Analogy

logy to the Nature of the Law-giver, who was Meek and Gentle, not willing to break a Bruised Reed: and bearing also an Analogy to the Nature of the Message and *Law* that was to be Promulgated; a Message of Peace, and Mercy, and Reconciliation; an Easie Yoak, and a Law of Love, and therefore not so fit to be Published with Thunder, as with a soft still Voice. 2. The Promulgation of that Law, though Secondary and Consequentially it was to all Mankind; yet Principally and Immediately it concerned the *Jews*, and was certainly Published at first in that Language only. But this Law was in its very first Design an Institution Universal, to all Mankind, as well *Gentiles* as *Jews*; and therefore it is Promulgated in all Languages, and in a Voice Intelligible to all Hearers; and the Divine Providence so ordered it, that it should have Hearers of all Nations and Languages, whereby not only the Miracle it self, but also the Matters deliver'd, were Communicated almost in a Moment, to all Quarters of the World, by the Auditors of several Nations and Languages that were present, and heard it, though not without deserved Amazement.

3. The Third thing propounded is the Consideration of the several parts, or Manifestations of this Great Miracle. The Power of the Divine Spirit manifested it self under Two Kinds of Manifestations; one Kind was visible, which was objected to the Sense of Sight; There appeared unto them Cloven Tongues, like as of fire, and sat upon each of them: The other Kind of Manifestation was Audible, manifested to the Sense of Hearing;

First,

First, A Sound from Heaven, as of a Rushing mighty Wind.

Secondly, A speech with other Tongues.

Touching the former of these, the Visible Signs, they were these;

First, The Figure of the Appearance, they were in the Figure of Cloven Tongues, Importing the Busyness or End of this Manifestation, an Emblem of those Excellent and Miraculous Operations, that, together with this Appearance, and Conformable to it, were derived from the Spirit unto them, namely, Divine Inspiration, and Variety of Languages. Under the *Old Testament* the Spirit of God cured the Infirmities of the Prophet, by touching his Tongue or Mouth, *Isai. 6. 7, 8.* Under the *New Testament* there are, as it were, New Tongues given them, fitting them for their Offices.

Secondly, The Seeming Matter of them, they were like as of Fire, the most Cleansing and Active Element answering the Prediction of the Baptist, *Mattb. 3. 11. He shall Baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire.* And, of the Prophets, *Mal. 3. 2, 3. He is like a Refiner's Fire. And he shall purifie the Sons of Levi, that they may offer unto the Lord an Offering in Righteousness.* He sent this Fiery Appearance upon the Apostles, to Actuate and Purifie, not to Consume them.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Posture of this Appearance, it
sat upon each of them, and thereby gave a more
forcible and sensible Demonstration, that these Mi-
raculous Varieties of Tongues they used, was, in
truth, a Supernatural Effect of a Supernatural
Cause, manifesting it self in the Visible Emblem of
Cloven Tongues.

Touching the Audible Signs, they were
Two.

First, The Sound from Heaven, as of a rushing
mighty Wind. The Divine Spirit chooseth many
times to resemble the Efficacy, and yet Secretnes
of his Operations, by the Relembiance of Wind,
John 3. 8. The Wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou bearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; So is every one that is born of the Spirit. And in that Typical Resur-
rection of the dry Bones, *Ezek. 37.* The Ener-
gy of the Spirit of God giving Life to those Bones,
is resembled under the Expression of Wind: The
Spirit of God chooseth this audible Emblem, to
manifest his Presence and Energy.

The *Second* is that of speaking with divers Tongues,
Intelligible by People of variou Languages; this
continued a peculiar Gift of the Spirit of God
long in the Church, *1 Cor. 14.* As this was a Great,
a Miraculous Endowment, that Illiterate Men
should, in a moment, receive a Faculty of speak-
ing the Languages of several Nations; so it was
seasonable, in the first Age of the Church, for the
Planting and diffusing of the Truths of the Go-
spel

spel, through the several parts of the World: And at this time they were fitted with Auditors proportionate to this Gift; namely, People of several Countreys and Languages, as well Strangers as Inhabitants, who were present, and took notice of it, and could not but publish it to their several Countreys and Correspondents.

Fourthly, The Fourth thing propounded is the end of this Admirable Miracle: The Spirit of God is the Spirit of Wisdom, and doth not things at random, or only for shew and novelty, but for most Wise and Excellent ends. The General end was this:

Christ, the Promised Messiah, of whom the former Prophecies in the *Old Testament* spake, to whom the Types and Ceremonies of the Law pointed, was by the Eternal Counsel of God appointed the Messias, and to bring to the World a New and Perfect Law, Everlasting Righteousness and the Means of attaining Everlasting Life and Happiness. This Doctrine he Published in his Life-time, Confirmed it with Miracles, Sealed it with his Death, and put beyond doubt and controversie by his Resurrection and Ascension.

And because his Death was Confessed by all, but his Resurrection and Ascension was by the Malice of the *Jews* as much discredited as lay in their Power: And because if once the Truth of the Resurrection of *Christ* were admitted, it gave such a Testimony to the Truth of his Mission, and of his Doctrine, that exceeded all possible contradiction or dispute: And because the Doctrine of Christianity that was now offer'd to the World, must necessarily, if entertained, overthrow all the Errors and

and Superstitions of other Religions, and consequently meet with as many Enemies in the World as there were earnest Professors of other Religions. And because the great business of the Apostles of Christ was in a special manner to bear witness to the Truth of his Resurrection, *Acts 1. 22.* and they were to be the Common Publishers unto the World of these Great Truths. And because the same Christ, whose Apostles they were for the Vindication of that Truth that was delivered by himself, and was after to be published by them, had, before his Ascension, promised them a signal Testimony and Manifestation of the Spirit of God, that should bear Witness to the Truth of Christ and his Doctrine, *Luke 24. 49. John 15. 16. Acts 1. 4. 8.* Therefore upon these, and such as these Important Considerations, the Blessed Spirit of God bears Witness to the Truth of the Testimony, Doctrine, and Mission of the Apostles, in their very first entry upon this Great Work of Converting the World with such Marvellous Signs and Appearances as these, such as were obvious to all the Sences of Discipline; to be true and real; and yet such as were of such a Nature and Kind, as could be no other but Supernatural and Miraculous. And hereby the Divine Power of Almighty God himself, did set to his own Seal, and Testimonial to the Truth of the Doctrine and Mission of Christ and his Apostles, with the greatest Evidence that it is possible for Reason or Sence it self to expect, or have to the Asserting of any Truth.

And the great Inforcement of this Evidence rests not so much, that these strange and Miraculous things were done in gross, or for themselves; but in that they were done in order, and upon design to Justifie

Justifie and Evidence the Truth of Fact and Doctrines that were delivered by Christ and his Apostles, which, had they not been true, we cannot imagine that the Glorious God of Heaven would send out his own Power, and set to his own Seal to Justifie and Assert them: And yet besides all this, they are set to the Justification and making good of those Truths which were not without a strange Evidence of Credibility otherwise, as namely the Excellency of the Doctrine, Concurrence of Prophecy, and the Concurring Testimony of many Credible Persons that were Eye-Witnesses of the Resurrection of Christ, which alone, if admitted and believed, gives a Testimony of the Truth of his Doctrine and Mission beyond all contradiction.

And this great Testimony given by the Spirit of God, in this Great, Evident, and Sensible Demonstration, is given out in the first beginning of the Apostolical Ministry, and that in a Signal and Publick manner, that it might gain a Present, and Powerful, and Successful Progress in the World. And it was not disappointed in the event it designed, as the Testimony of the Primitive, and all ensuing Ages abundantly prove: So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.

That which we may learn from this, and other Instances of the like Kind, is first to settle and establish our hearts in the True Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Holy Doctrine, since we have all the Evidences imaginable to Justifie our Faith our Reason, our Sence, to believe it; and have all those Demonstrations that any Man of common Reason can expect to satisfie us thereof. Secondly, To render all humble Thanks to the Goodness and Bounty of Almighty God, who thus deals with

us Humane Creatures, condescends unto our Natures and Capacities, complies with our Common Sense and Reason, giving us Evidences of all sorts to Convince and Perswade us to the Entertainment and Belief of those things that are our Happiness and Felicity to Believe; and omits not any Topick that may assure us: Applies to every Avenue of our Souls and Hearts for the Admission and Reception of those Truths, in the Belief whereof consists our Everlasting Blessedness.

Concerning

Concerning The W O R K S O F G O D.

HAVING Consider'd the Divine Attributes, We come to Consider the Works of God or those Acts of Almighty God, which are Terminated in something without Himself. And these are of Two Kinds.

First, The Internal, or Immanent Works of God, which, though they are within Himself, yet I call them Works, because they are Terminated in something without Him. And those are of Two Kinds, *viz.* His knowledge, or Fore-knowledge, which relates to God, as we represent him to our selves, under the Notion of an Intellectual Being; And the Counsel or Determination of his Will, as we Represent him to our selves, as a Free Agent, or one who works *Secundum Intentionem.*

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Secondly

Secondly, The External, or Transient Works of Almighty God ; and these are of Two Kinds, viz. The Work of Creation, and the Work of Providence, or Gubernation.

The Work of *Creation* is again of Two Kinds, *viz.* *Creatio Prima*, the Production of Something out of Nothing, or Simple Creation : And *Creatio Secunda*, the Production of Something out of what pre-existed ; but yet such a production as exceeded the Activity or Power of any Natural Cause, as the Production of the Heavenly and Elementary Bodies, the first Production of Manners.

The Work of his Providence is of Two Kinds, *viz.*

First, That General Providence that concerns the Universe, and the particular Beings therein, as they are parts of the Universe ; and this includes those Two great Exertions of the Divine Providence, viz.

1. The Common Influx, whereby every thing is preserved in *genere Entis*; and in the particular Nature of *ens tale*.

2. the Gubernation, or Regiment of every thing.

The Special Work of Divine Providence is that, which relates to intellectual Natures, *viz.* Angels or Men.

And

And that part of the Divine Special Providence relating to Men, is of Two Kinds; viz. That which relates to him, in reference to his Temporal Subsistence, Civil or Political: Or that part of the Divine Special Providence that concerns Man, in reference to his Everlasting State or Condition, which lets in the whole Divine Oeconomy, in relation to Religion and Religious concernments.

To begin with the *First* of these kind of Works, The Divine Knowledge, and Fore-knowledge of things.

We must premise, as we have done formerly, That we are not able to have a right and due conception neither of the Knowledge, nor of the Counsel of Almighty God; only thus much we are certain, that it is quite another thing than any thing we can imagine concerning it; and the reason is, because we have no other measure to frame in our selves a conception of Knowledge; but only the Idea, or Image of that Knowledge which we have in our selves which is utterly unsuitable and disanalogal to that Knowledge which is in God, or the Manner, or Nature of it. It is much more possible, that a Child of a Span Long; nay, that a Worm, or a Fly, might have a Just and adequate Conception of the Knowledge of the Wisest Man in the World, and the Manner of it, than it is possible for the Wisest and most Knowing Man to have a right Measure or Estimate of the Knowledge of God, or of the Manner or Nature of it. And the Reason is apparent; for the Knowledge of a Child and a Man differ only in degrees; the Knowledge of a Worm and a Man, though they

differ not only in degrees, but in Kind and Nature, and therefore cannot form to it self the Conception or Image of the Knowledge of a Man for it ; But yet they agree in this, that even the Knowledge of a Man is *quid finitum* : But the Knowledge that a Man hath, and the Knowledge that God hath, differed not only in degree, and in their Kind and Nature, but differ as *quod finitum*, and *quod infinitum* ; and consequently impossible that the finite nature of the Knowledge of Man can be any Measure or Image of the Infinite Knowledge of Almighty God.

This therefore we may suppose concerning the Knowledge of God, indeed rather what it is not, than what it is.

First, It is not barely an Objective Knowledge, or such a Knowledge as ariseth from the Impression, that the *Scibile*, or thing known, makes upon the Intellect. And this is evident, because that this Divine Knowledge pre-exists all things that are without him to be known ; he knows all things before they had any being, and therefore before they had an Objective Impression upon that which knows.

Secondly, It is not a Discursive, or Rational Knowledge, for that seems proper to the Humane Nature, deducing of one thing from another, and collecting the Effect from the Cause ; for this is a Gradual Successive Knowledge, a manner of Acting incompatible to a most simple and uncompounded Being.

Thirdly, It is not properly an Intuitive Knowledge ; for all Intuition presupposeth somewhat pre-existing to what is so looked into : This supposition

position (in reference to the Knowledge of Almighty God) must either suppose an Intuition of the things themselves, which is in truth, nothing but an Objective Knowledge. But this serves not here, for the Knowledge of Almighty God Pre-exists the very being of all things without him, and therefore it cannot be barely such an Intuitive Knowledge; Or else it must suppose a Pre-determination of every thing that shall be in the Divine Will; and so by the Intuition of himself, and of his own most Wise and Powerful Determination he Inspects whatsoever shall be. This, though it be true, yet it takes not up the whole Extension of the Divine Knowledge. For, Almighty God doth most certainly know some things that are not Actually within the Compass of an Absolute and Complete Determination. He knows not only what shall be, but what may be; not only what is within the Compass of his purpose and Determination, but what is within the Compass of his Almighty Power and Omnipotence; And not only that neither, there is a Knowledge which some do, and we may call *Scientia Conditionata*, a Knowledge what a Free Agent would do under such or such an Objective Motion, though he were not Pre determined by the Divine Will.

And to put a Period to our Progression, even Negative, in this Inquiry into the Divine Knowledge, his Understanding is Perfect, Unsearchable, and which is more than all we can else say, his Understanding is Infinite, exceeding the very Compass of *scibilia* themselves, so far as they have, or indeed can have, any Actual Existence; for that which is Potentially Infinite, is nevertheless impossible to be Actually Infinite: But the Divine Knowledge

ledge is actually Infinite, for it understands its own Infinite Being, which were enough to denominate it such, were there no other *scibile*, and in the Understanding of its own Infinite Being, it Understands its Infinite Power, and is, as I may say, Commensurate to the uttermost Activity of that Infinite Power: And although, what may be, is but *quid potentiale*, for it is not, and possibly never shall be; yet he actually understands whatsoever may be, or that hath *potentiam non repugnante* to be, though it never shall be Actually.

Secondly, Touching the Counsel of the Divine Will, it is a depth and height above all Created Understanding to search into. All Things are brought about by the most Powerful Counsel of his Will; and yet he altereth not that Law or Rule of Working which he hath Implanted into every thing, unless it be very rarely, and for the Manifestation of the Supremacy of his Empire and Power; So that ordinarily, things Naturally Act according to the Laws and Rules implanted in Natural Causes, and Things voluntary Act according to the Liberty of their own freedom, without alteration of the former, or violence to the latter; yet by these, and in these, he fulfils infallibly the Counsel of his own Will: He manageth and ordereth even the Sinful Actions of Free Agents to most excellent ends yet without infusing any obliquity into the Man's Will, or contaminating the Purity and Holiness of his own: This Knowledge is too Wonderful for us.

Touching the Counsel and Decree of Almighty God, something hath been said in the Part going

ing before, touching Providence; I shall therefore here say but little concerning it.

The Counsel, or Decree of the Will of God, is that Act; as I may call it of the Divine Will, whereby, by one Indivisible Act, he did, from Eternity, Infallibly Predetermine all the Events that should after come to pass.

And according to the Object, or Terming of this Divine Decree, we may distinguish it according to the several sorts of External Acts, which have been, or shall be in the World, and those are principally Two, *viz.* The Creation of the World, and the Government or Providential Ordering of the World.

The Decree or Counsel for the Creation of the World, was that Eternal Purpose of the Blessed Trinity God Blessed for ever, that in such a Period, he would, by his Almighty Power, Create and Perfect both the Matter and Frame of the whole World: And although the Execution of this Decree were a Mutation in Things, or a Transition from not being to being, yet the Will of Almighty God was Eternally, Immutably the same whereby he determined to Communicate the Overflowing of his Goodness, and to Create Beings, that according to their several Capacities, should be Receptive of that Goodness of his.

The Decree of his Providence is that Eternal Counsel of his, whereby he did determine to support and govern the things that he had so determined to make, according to the most Wise, most Pure Unerring Counsel of his own Will.

And the Execution of this Counsel or the manner of the Divine Regiment, or Providential Gubernation

bernation of things, may be reduced to these Four Kinds.

1. Supernatural, whereby the Divine Power, for the manifesting of his Absolute Sovereignty, and upon most Wise and Suitable Emergencies, doth interpose his own Immediate Power for the bringing about some of his Counsels; and these are of Two Kinds, according to the variety of Objects which it concerns, *viz.*

First, Miraculous Interpositions, which principally concern Natural Agents, or Effects; as the Standing still of the Sun, &c.

Secondly, Illapses, and Irradiations, and Infusions of the Operations of the Divine Spirit, as in the Prophets, or in Converting of Men to the Knowledge and Obedience of the Truth, and this concerns Rational Creatures as such.

2. Natural; whereby he orders all things ordinarily in the World, according to the Laws and Constitutions that he hath given naturally to Second Causes, whereby, according to their suitable Constitution, the Regiment of things is Managed, but under the most Wise Government, and to most Wise Ends. And under this Word, Natural, I likewise include even Voluntary or Free Agents, which, though in some respect, they are Contradistinguished to Natural Agents, yet, in this respect, I call them Natural, because their Liberty and Freedom is Natural to them: And surely upon a due Consideration, the most Incomparable Wisdom and Power of Almighty God is no less Conspicuous in this

this Natural Regiment of things, than in that Supernatural Interposition above mentioned, *viz.* That the Divine Wisdom hath so fitted every thing with a Law suitable to the Exigence and Convenience of its own Being ; and yet so ordered and fitted for Contexture to the common Use and Regiment of things, that they are Suitable, and Natural to our Constitutions, without violation of them.

3. Permissive, Which refers to the sinful Actions of Free Agents, *viz.* Whereby God Almighty having at first Constituted a Being in Freedom of Will, and with sufficient Power and Knowledge to elect Good, and to refuse the Evil ; ye Decrees to permit him to use the Freedom of his own Will, and in that Freedom he Falls and Sins : This Permissive Decree doth not at all necessitate the Choice that it makes through the Infiniteness of the Divine Knowledge, foresees what Choice he will make, and provides accordingly by that which ensues, *viz.*

4. Directive Providence ; That although Almighty God doth not, by any Pre-determination, Counsel his Creature to Sin, yet by the Infinite Prospect of his Knowledge, foreseeing, that he will Sin ; the Divine Counsel most Wisely Holily and Mercifully manageth and directeth even this Sinful Action of Men, or other Free Agent, to the best good that it is capable of : That a Free-Agent should be made, and yet of a Peccable and Mutable Nature, it was no Error of Divine Providence : for indeed, as naturally, every Created Being is Mutable ; so it is nothing of Imperfection for

for a Free Agent to be *liber ad opposita*: The Electing of what is Evil, by such a Free Agent, indeed is a thing permitted by God, but is the Act or Obliquity of the Agent that might have done otherwise: But the Direction and Conduct of that Action to a most excellent End, is the effect of this most Wise most Pure directive Counsel of Almighty God.

But more shall be said, in relation hereunto, when we come to consider of the Divine Providence, in relation to Man; for the Truth is the External Gubernation, and Providence is but *Divinum Decretum Enucleatum*, the Detection and Discovery of that Counsel and Decree of God, that was before secret and hidden.

I come to those External Acts of the Divine Counsel, the Administration of his Kingdom, *viz.* Creation and Providence.

First, Creation is of Two Kinds, *viz.* *Creatio Prima*, which is the Production of a Being from not Being.

Secondly, *Creatio Secunda*; The Production of a Being out of such a Being, and in such a Method or Way as exceeds all Created Power.

For the Former of these Creations, *viz.* The Production of Something out of simply Nothing, which is the greatest effect that is imaginable, because the Distance between the Extremes, *viz.* Simple, not Being, and Being in the infinitest distance
that

that is imaginable, and therefore is a Work peculiarly belonging to an Omnipotent Power.

This Creation is of those Primordial Rudiments of all other things, and therefore Compriseth these Two things, *viz.* The Production of Spiritual, or Incorporeal Natures, and these seem to be compleated in the First Creation, and had no other Superinduced Formation, or *Creatio Secunda* upon them but they were compleated in the Compleatment and Perfection of their Being in the First instant of their Creation; such are Angelical Natures, and Separate Intelligences.

Secondly, The Production of the Rudiments of things Corporeal, which seems to include Two things,

First, The Common Mals of Matter; And,

Secondly, The Common Spirit of Material Beings.

As the former is the *Materia Prima* of Bodies, so the latter may possibly be the *Materia Prima*, as I may call it of Substantial Forms; and these lay confusedly mixed together, so that neither was the Matter purely *Informis*, for that were impossible to suppose such a subsistence of Matter, or Corporeal *Meles*, without any kind of Form; nor is it on the other side imaginable, that the *Spiritus Universi*, as I may call it, was distinct, compleat, or subsisting without Matter; but they were both mingled indistinctly together, till the Particles of this Common Matter, and the Particles of this Common spirit, or Form were called out in the *Creatio Secunda*,

cunda, or the Formation of things, and Reduction of these Indigested Rudiments of the *Mundus Spe-
stabilis* into their several Ranks and Orders.

Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.

And this way that Chaos, the Work of Beginning, consisting of these Two parts, mentioned in the First and Second Verses of the First of *Genesis*, viz. The Earth, or that *Moles Corporea*; which is called the Abyss, or Deep; and that *Spiritus* that moved, or agitated the Waters, which, with submission, I conceive was not the Pure Essential Spirit of God, the Third Person in the Sacred Trinity; but a Spirit Created by the Energy and Virtue of that Spirit, and mingled with the Mass of Matter.

In the Precedent Discourses the necessity of the Hypothesis of the Creation of all things out of simply nothing, is, to my Understanding, fully evinced, and there shall not need any Repetition of it; and most certainly the First Chapter of *Genesis*, which doth admirably shew the Steps and Method of the Whole Creation, doth wonderfully gratifie even the Light of Natural Reason, discovering the particular Method of that Production of the World which the Light of Reason evinceth to have been at first produced; though it cannot, without Divine Revelation, discover the Steps and Method of it. And on the other, the Light of Nature doth *Suffragari*, and bear Witness to the Truth of the Scriptures, which Light of Nature carries us to a Recognition, that it had an Original; though, without the help of Revelation it cannot discover the Method or Order of it.

The

The *Creatio Secunda* is that Formation of things Visible or Corporeal out of those Rudiments of Matter, and Form, or Spirit, which was prepared by the *Creatio Prima*: Consisting principally in these things,

1. The Segregation of certain parts of Matter, and suitable parts of the *Spiritus Materiae*.

2. The Coagulation and Coagmentation of those Separated Parts, according to the various Natures of Things.

3. The Transposition and Location of them in their most suitable Places and Stations.

4. The Accommodating them with those various Accidents that were convenient and suitable to them, and to the Universe.

5. The Moulding and Fashioning of the various Furniture of the several Greater Bodies, as by Particles of Matter and Form, or Spirit, Assumed and Fitted for their Individual and Specifical Natures.

6. The Constitution of Man, and deriving into him a Reasonable Soul, of a higher and more Noble Allay than that *Spiritus Mundanus*, which was, as it were, the Common Spirit of the *Mundus Aspectabilis*.

And in this whole Proces, not only of the *Creatio Prima*, but of the *Creatio Secunda*, or the Education of particular things out of that Mass of common Provision, which was Sub-ministred by the *Creatio Prima*, we must, of Necessity, acknowledge these ensuing Truths.

First, That they were not the Productions of Second Causes, but the immediate Production of Almighty God, by his Will and Power ; and we need go no farther for an Evidence of it than this : If the Temperature of the Matter, the Natural Influx of the Heavens, the Energy of First Qualities, were the causes of these Productions ; Why, in all the Experience that the World hath had these Four thousand Years, and more ; why in all this time hath not any part of the World yielded a Man, or so much as a Horse, or a Sheep, of such a Production, without the ordinary Course of Generation ?

Secondly, That yet it may be probable that the Immediate Instrument which the Divine Power used in the External Formation of Creatures, may be the Formation of that Substantial Form, or Spirit, and uniting it to Matter, so that the Formation of the External shape of things might be the Ideal Impression of that Form upon the prepared Matter ; this possibly may be because we see the Formation of the Externals of Bodies is still immediately Effected by the Seminal Ideal Energy of the Substantial Form. But possibly it might be otherwise, for possibly the first Constitution of things might be of another Nature than what now appears.

Thirdly, That as they were the immediate Production of the Divine Power, so it was a production not *ex necessitate naturae*, but *ex intentione intendentis*.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That as it was the Production of Almighty God, not as a Necessary, but as a Free Agent, so it was a Production of Infinite Wisdom, and Admirable Contrivance. This is the Subject of some of the Precedent Tracts.

L 2

Matth.

Matth. VII. 12.

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them; For this is the Law and the Prophets.

Luke VI. 31. *And as ye would that Men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.*

A Lmighty God, in his giving out the Moral Law unto the Jews, (which is indeed little else than a Repetition, or Recapitulation of the Law of Nature) Included, or Inscribed them in two Tables ; the first importing the Natural Duties that a Man owes to God ; the second Importing, the Duties a Man owes to Man, or (which is all one) to his Neighbour.

Our Redeemer made a shorter Abstract of both these Tables, Matth. 22. 37, & ever yet taken one of the Ancient Writings of the Law : *The first and great Commandment, or the Abstract of the First Table, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;* which

which is the same in substance with that of Deut. 6. 5. The Second Commandment, or the Abstract of the Second Table; *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*: being the same with that of Levit. 19. 18. On these two Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets; that is, the several Precepts, Prohibitions, and Counsels contained in the Law and the Prophets, are, as it were, so many Commentaries, or Explications of these Two Great Commandments.

And the Apostle, Rom. 13. 9, 10. having occasion to Commend this great Habit of Love, which he elsewhere, viz. 1 Cor. 13. calls by the Name of Charity, follows his Master's Doctrine, and resolves the whole Duty of the Second Table, into the same Great Command, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.*

In this Text of Matth. 7. 12. and Luke 6. 31. Our Lord gives us an Explication of this Second Great Commandment, of Loving our Neighbour as our Self, in a brief but most clear Proposition, or Precept.

And the Excellency of this Precept consists in these particulars among many others.

First, It is compendious and short, the Volumes of Morality that have been written, both by Christian and Heathen Philosophers, though they contain many excellent Precepts, yet they are very large, and such as every Man hath not opportunity to Read; and those that have Read them, or some of them, cannot easily remember the many particulars contained in them. Our Lord therefore hath given us this brief and compendious Pre-

cept, which is easie and familiar to be remembred.

Secondly, Though it be a Compendious Precept, yet it is a Comprehensive Precept, and such as contains the whole Duty of Man in Relation to others.

There was well known, not only among the Jews, but among the Heathen, the Prohibitory part of this Precept, namely, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*. We find it among the Ancient Jews, Tobit 4. 15. and among the Ancient Heathens; insomuch, that one of the Roman Emperors caused it to be Written in Letters of Gold, as his Choice Motto, in several parts of his Palace.

And indeed that Negative Precept contains very much of Moral Righteousnes, because it extends to the Prohibition of all Acts of Injustice, or Unrighteousnes. But this Precept of the Gospel doth not only Virtually Prohibit all Acts of Injustice and Unrighteousnes, but it doth exprefly Command and Injoyn all Acts of Charity, Goodnes and Beneficence; and consequently is a Precept not only of Moral Justice, but of Evangelical Perfection, far beyond whatever the Choicest Heathen Moralist ever required, or so much as thought of, as shall be in due time shown. And yet farther, it doth not only comprehend all the Subjects or Matter of Moral Justice, and Christian Charity, which is a large and comprehensive Subject; but it directs likewife the manner of it, do ye even so to them, with the same Sincerity, and Integrity, and Simplicity, and Affection of Heart, as you would have it done to you.

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Thirdly, As it is a Compendious, and Comprehensive, so it is a plain and perspicuous, and Self-evident Rule; it sends not a Man to consult with this or that Philosopher, or Schoolman, or Casuist, to be resolved touching the thing to be forborn, or done: But sends a Man to himself, and to that in himself, which is most evident to himself; namely, what he would wish to be done to himself, in the like Condition. Which, if a Man will be but as honest to himself, as he may, he can easily determine and Judge. So that of this Precept I may say, as Moses doth elsewhere concerning the Law, Deut. 30. 11. Bebold! This Commandment which I command thee this day, is not bidden from thee, neither is it afar off. It is not in Heaven, &c. neither is it beyond the Sea, &c. But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart, that thou mayest do it.

Fourthly, It is such a Rule as is particular, and particularly directive, as to the action in question, under all its Circumstances. It is true, that the general Precepts of doing that which is good and just, are very true, sound, natural Precepts, and common notions that are implanted in our Nature, and allowed by all; but yet they serve not as sufficient directions to particular actions; and the reason is excellently given by the Moralist, because still the difficulty remains in a just and true application, or accommodation of these common Notions to particular Actions. And this is that that makes perpetual Controversies between one Man and another, though both Parties agree in the common Notions, that what is just and honest ought

to be done : But this Precept gives a Direction particularly accommodated to every Action of a Man's Life : Because it is still an easie and ready Appeal, Would I have that Man do that to me; which I am about to do to him ?

Fifthly, It is a Rule full of Conviction : when another Man gives his Judgment concerning my Action, I am rarely satisfied with his Judgment, because it differs from that Judgment which perchance I make ; but, when the Judgment is my own, I must needs be convinc'd of what I Judge. And therefore when *Nathan* came to *David*, and put him a Case in a Third Person, which exactly squared with the Case of *David*, in relation to *Uriah* and his Wife, and *David* passed his Judgment therein ; and it after appeared that it was his own Case ; there was nothing more to be said, he is convinced by his own Judgment that he hath passed : So when a Man turns the Tables, as the Proverb is, and makes another Man's Case his, his Judgment must needs be full of Demonstrative, and Unquestionable, and Cogent Conviction, and consequently must needs have a strange, forcible, and almost irresistible Direction, in relation to the doing, or not doing of the Action propounded.

Sixthly; It is a Rule that carries with it a strange and forcible Reasonableness, Congruity and Justice, if a Man give himself but so much leave and Patience to scan, and consider, and examine his Actions, and then to do them according to the Rule.

First, It is a most reasonable and evidently just Rule ; For with what imaginable Justice can I do that

that to him, that I Judge unfit or unjust for him to do to me? Or with what pretence of Justice, or Congruity can I Judge that which is fit for him to do to me, to be unfit for me to do to him? (taking in the Qualifications hereafter subjoyned.)

Again, *Secondly*, It is a Principle of much Peace and Security to him that practiseth it. Among some others there seem to be two great occasions of Injustice and Injury, and Violence from one Man to another.

1. The Passion of Revenge, which induceth Retaliation, or inflicting an Injury upon him from whom a Man hath received an Injury.

2. The Passion of Fear, or Suspicion, lest a Person may have Opportunity and Will to do a Man harm; and therefore the Person fearing begins first with him he fears, thereby to disable him to do the Injury feated; and these two cause much of the Injustice, Violence, and Oppression in the World: But a Man that takes up, and practiseth this Rule, as he cannot give an Irritation to Revenge, because this Principle keeps him from doing an Injury, so he is secure from the Injury arising from anothers Fear; because his Living according to this Principle, gives a clear assurance to all Men, that they need not fear, or suspect an Injury from him, because inconsistent with this admirable Rule, whereby he directs his Course, and so his Innocence and Justice is his great foundation of his Peace and Tranquility in this Life; and consequently this Principle, and the Practice thereof, is the greatest Wisdom, and the best Provision for

for Peace in the World. If I do to others no otherwise than I would have them to do to me, no reasonable Man can be my Enemy.

Sevently, It is a Rule that hath that clear Analogy with our Reason, and the Terms so evidently connected, that the Mind assents to the truth and goodness of it, without any Proces of Ratiocination. There are many Moral Truths, that though they be most certainly true, and good, yet before the Mind can clearly discover, or assent unto them, it is necessary to have some antecedent Discursive Proces, or Ratiocination, such are many Deductions and Conclusions from the more Universal Principles. But again, as in Nature, and Mathematical Sciences, so in Morals, there are some *dictamina moralia* that have that clear and evident Connection in them, and that plain Congruity to Natural Justice, that at the first Proposal of them, nay, it may be, without any Proposal of them, the Soul assents to the things, by a kind of Immediate Intuition, and *primo intuitu*, without the use of Ratiocination, or Discursive Disquisition: As the Eye of Sense, as soon as it is open, discerns the Light, or Call, without any kind of Solemn Proces to evince it to be such; so there be some kind of Truths, that the Eye of the Understanding assents to, *quasi per saltum, & per intuitum*, without the necessity or use of Processive, or Inductive Ratiocination: The Connection between the Terms of the Propositions, or Antecedent and Conclusion, are so plain and evident, that the Assent is wrought in a Moment.

Nay yet farther, as in the sensible or vegetable Nature, there seem to be implanted, by the wise God,

God, certain Rules, which we call Natural Instincts, that are visibly used in the highest degree of rational Evidence, to their Production, Preservation and Perfection; which, though they are most Wise, and Rational Rules, yet the Vegetable and Sensible Nature do, without any innate, active Reason in themselves, constantly follow: So it seems in the Rational Soul, or Conscience, or Mind, or whatever else we please to term it, there are certain Moral Truths, of great Weight and Moment, and Necessity, for due Regulation of the Life of Man, in order to Almighty God himself; and others which are Connaturally implanted in the Mind, and may, without Injury, be called Rational Instincts; which, though they are admirably reasonable, and such as will evidently appear so upon a Discursive Process; yet the Mind and Inclination of the Will is carry'd to assent unto, and approve them antecedently to any formal successive and deductive Process, or Ratiocination of the Understanding, and grows up with a Man to greater Strength, Force, and Efficacy, as he increaseth in Age: And the Moral Precepts, that either by their self-evidence, *primo intuitu*, to the Intellectual Faculty, or by their Connatural Implantation and Inflation into the Soul, are thus discovered, without the Manuduction of a Discursive Process, or Train of Ratiocination, are justly called Laws of Nature.

And such is this Precept we have in hand, which, without any Antecedent Instruction, or Ratiocination, is allowed, and approved, and embraced *primo intuitu*; either because it is a Moral and Rational Instinct Connaturally implanted in the Soul, as one of its Inscriptions, or Signatures; or at least because

because it holds such a clear, evident, plain Congruity, with our Intellectual Faculty, that, at the first Conception of it, without more work, it assents to it as fit, and just, and good, without any Antecedent, either Instruction or Argumentation, or Deduction: as it doth, at the first view, conclude, that two is more than one, without the Expectation of a Demonstration thereof.

And hence it is, that all that have written of Laws of Nature, although perchance they differ in their several Suppositions touching such Laws, and the Reason of them, yet have generally vouch-ed this great Precept, *Quod fieri tibi non vis alteri ne feceris*, among the Unquestionable Laws of Na-ture.

They that suppose the Laws of the Rational Nature to be therefore such, because they are In-scribed; as it were, and Congenite with, and in the *Synteresis*, or Seat of Principles in the Soul, suppose this Moral Rule of Justice and Charity likewise In-scribed Connaturally in the Natural Conscience; And they that suppose the Soul to be *rasa tabula*, and to have no such Moral, or other Truths In-scribed in it, nor to have any Connatural Proposition thereunto Analogal to the Instincts of Inferior A-nimals; but only an Accommodation of the Intel-lectual Faculties to the External Objects: Yet sup-pose this to be a Natural Principle of Moral Ju-stice and Righteousness, because it carries a plain and-ready Evidence in it self, and a certain easie Congruity to our Faculties, whereby, at the first view, without any necessity of Ratiocination, or Deduction in a Discursive Proces, the Under-standing, *primo intuitu*, and at the first proposal thereof, assents to it as true and good. And again, they
that

that will not allow of Laws of Nature upon either of the two former Accounts; but only will have such to be Laws of Nature, which, upon an account of Reason, appears to be immediately, or consequentially conduicible to Self-preservation; yet allow this to be a Law of Nature, even upon that account, as highly conduicible to the safety, good and benefit of every Man: Because he that doth to another, what he would have another do to him, secretly inclines another to do the like by him.

Eighthly, It is a Rule commensurate to the whole reasonable Nature; every Person that hath but the common use of Reason, may exercise it without any difficulty. Every Reasonable Man hath a Reasonable Will; and every Reasonable Man may know what it is he Wills, and what it is he would, or would not another should do to him. For the Will is a Rational Power in Man; and indeed it is the Complement of the Rational Precedure in the Soul, and that which doth, or should, immediately follow the last Act of the Understanding; willing it the full complete ripe fruit of the Rational Soul in things to be done. And therefore this, whatsoever ye would, supposeth an Antecedent Consideration of these things.

1. A Consideration of his own State and Condition, that is about to do, or not to do, the thing under Deliberation.

2. A Consideration of the Person, to whom the thing under Deliberation is to be done.

3. A

3. A Consideration of the thing it self that is under deliberation.

4. A Consideration of the several Circumstances, Congruities, and Incongruities that accompany the thing under Deliberation.

5. A due transposing of the Persons, by way of Fiction, or Supposition ; namely, he that is under proposal of being the Agent, putting himself into the Condition of the Patient, and putting the Patient in the place of the Agent ; and then making the Decision upon it fairly and impartially.

And although that one Man's Reason, and Learning, and Judgment, may be much greater, and clearer than another's ; and there may be very many Curious Inquisitions and Descants upon every Action that comes under this kind of Deliberation, which every Man cannot attain unto, nor possibly reach ; yet here is the Excellency of this Rule, That he needs no other Reason, no other Scrutiny, no other help but his own, to make this Decision, if he will be but what every one may be, if he please, True, and Faithful, and Honest to himself, he needs no other Casuist, no other Umpire but himself, though he have but an ordinary capacity, and a common use of his Reason and Understanding.

Ninthly, This Rule is a Rule, that if followed, takes off all that, that for the most part, makes a Man partial and unequal, in determining touching his own Actions : The great Reason of inequality,

in the Actions of Men, is self-love, that makes a Man partial to himself; and all his own Actions, that warps a Man from that Equality and Justice that should direct him. When I find that this or that Action would be beneficial to me, I presently am carry'd away by self-love, either to do it without any farther Examination; or if I give my self leave to consider the lawfulness of it, self-love and Interest blinds my Judgment, and presently persuades me that it is lawful, because profitable to me: Or if I allow my self any farther Dispute touching it, yet self-love will deceive me, and make those Arguments seem strongest that make for my Interest: And so on the contrary, if I am under consideration of some Action that is to my loss, self-love will use the like Sophistry upon my Judgment, and bring me off from it: But this Rule, if followed, dischargeth me of that partiality that I have to my self, or doth infallibly, even to my Sense, detect it and take it off. For when I put my self in the stead and person of that other person, to whom the Action is to be done; and find, that under that capacity and supposition, I would not have that Action done to me, which I am about to do to another, or would have that Action deny'd to me, that I am about to deny to another; the Action appears to me truly as it is, and as it is stript of that disguise that self-love would put upon it, and removes that partiality that otherwise self-love would incline me to, and gives me a true Representation of the Action whereby I cannot err through self-love without apparent perverseness, and willful resolved Unjustice, which cannot be presumed in a Reasonable Man.

And

And these be those General Observations, touching the Excellence and Usefulness of this Excellent Precept of Moral Righteousnes.

I shall now proceed to consider the Parts and Extent of this Precept. The Heads whereof are as follow.

I. The Object; touching which this Precept is given, it is Moral Actions between Man and Man, together with the Extent of the Object, *Whatsoever ye would, or whatsoever ye would not.*

II. The Subject, with its Extent, namely Man, *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, that do ye to them.* Men Indefinitely, and therefore Men Universally.

III. The Rule directing those Actions, no other but the Will of him that is to do the Action, under a change or transposition of his Person; *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, that do ye to them.*

IV. The Extent of the Rule, under a Threefold Relation.

1. To the thing to be done.

2. To the Manner of doing, *Do ye even so to them likewise.*

3. To the Application of the Rule, which is,

First,

*First, Preceptive, which it expresses ;
Whatsoever ye would that Men should
do to you.*

*Secondly, Prohibitive, implies, What ye
would not that Men should do to you,
that do ye not to them.*

I begin with the Object of this Rule, which are the Moral Actions between Men ; and therefore it will not be amiss to give some account touching them. Moral Actions of Mankind are distinguish'd either in respect of the Object to which they relate, or in respect of the Subject wherein they are, or in respect of the Nature and Quality of the Actions themselves.

I. In respect of the Object to which they relate ; and they are these ;

First, Either such as relate to Almighty God, which come under the Denomination of Piety, or Impiety, according to the Nature of the Actions ; or,

Secondly, Such as relate to Men ; such as are Justice, Righteousness, &c. or Injustice, Unrighteousness, &c. Righteousness being a larger and more comprehensive word than Justice.

II. In relation to the Subject : So Moral Acts may be distinguished into such as are internal ; as Love to God, Fear of God, Reverence to him, Dependence upon him, with relation to God : Love

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to Man. Compassion to him, an Internal Active Habit of Righteousness, Goodness, Justice, with relation to Man: Or External, that flow Immediately from the outward Man, though from an inward Principle, as Adoration, External Obedience unto the Commands of God, in relation to him; Acts of Justice, Righteousness, Charity, in relation to Men.

III. In relation to the Nature and Quality of the Action, whether towards God or Man, Intellectual or External: Some Actions are Morally good, as Piety, Obedience to God, Love, Righteousness, Charity to Man. Some are Morally Evil, as Impiety, Disobedience to God, Malice, Hatred, Envy, Cruelty, Unjustice towards Men.

The Moral Goodness of every Act or Action of Mankind, whether Internal or External, relating to God or Man, consists in the Conformity thereof to the Will and Command of God, which is the Primitive Rule of all Moral Goodness: And the Moral Evil of any Act or Action is the Deformity, Deviation, or Contrariety thereto to the Will or Law of God.

Our Lord, when he gave an Abstract of the Will and Love of God, distributed it into those two Great Commandments, *Love to God, with all the Heart, and with all the Soul: And Love to Man as to our selves.* The first of these is indeed the Great Command, that as it is the Root of our Love to Man, so it ought to be the greatest Principle to move it, and the Primitive Rule to qualify and direct it: But in the Command in hand, the Latter, namely, the Command touching our Love

Love to our Neighbour, or to Mankind, and the Offices thereof, is the Subject in hand; therefore it is our business to enquire, what is that Love of God that concerns our Acts or Actions to Mankind, whereby they are denominated good, if consonant to that Law, or Morally Evil, if contrary to it.

The Law of God, touching Moral Goodness, relating to Man, is of Two Kinds.

First, That which respecteth the Inward Man, or that Habit, or those Acts of Moral Goodness that originally reside in the Mind, the Principal whereof commanded is Love; and that Train of Excellent Habits that follow it, as Righteousness, Beneficence, Charitableness, Meekness, Patience, Gentleness, which are required by the Command of God, and in this Rule prescribed, under the words *so, and likewise.* And on the other side, the Habits or Vices forbidden by the Law of God, are Hatred, Malice, Envy, Revengefulness, Cruelty, Unmercifulness, and all that black Train of the Diseases of the Mind.

Secondly, That which respecteth the Actions of the Outward Man, may be reduced under these Two General Heads, namely, Righteousness and Charity.

Righteousness between Man and Man consists in these two Generals:

1. In doing no Injury.
2. In giving to every Man his due.

The former part of Righteousness consists in doing no wrong: and regularly all sorts of Injuries are reductive to the Five last Commandments of the Second Table, though even under those Prohibitions there is commanded virtually the contrary of what is in them forbidden. By these Prohibitory Laws of God, all Injuries to the Person of any Man, all Violence, Rapine, Deceit, Cozenage, Fraud, all false Accusation, Lying, false Defamation, or Testimony, are Prohibited; and in these Prohibitory Laws the Negative part of this Rule is most concerned, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

The former, namely, the Positive Part of Righteousness, *summum cuique tribuere*, hath a double respect.

First, Either to Mankind in General; or,
Secondly, To Mankind under some Relation.

First, To Mankind in General; and herein the great Root, or Foundation of Righteousness between Man and Man, is that Great, Divine and Natural Precept, *Fidem serva, or fides est servanda*; for the Truth is, all Moral Precepts of Righteousness are reducible to this one: And there are Two kind of *fides data*, either that which is given Expressively, or that which is given Implyedly, or Interpretatively: The former respects especially Contracts and Bargains and Pa&ts, though even in these there is also an Implyed Faith; as if I sell Goods to another, it is Implyed, that if I know them not to be my own, I am bound to make Restitution, for I sell not *bona fide*, but *mala f.de.*

The

The Second sort of *fides*, is that which is Implied, and by common Interpretation so esteemed. Thus, as a Man is a part of the Common Society of Mankind, he doth, by way of Interpretation, undertake to observe those Common Laws that are Introduced by the Law of Nations: So if a Man doth become a Member of any Civil Society, he Tacitly obligeth himself to the observation of the Laws and Customs of that Society; and hither also reductively all the Mutual Offices (whereof in the next Section) may be brought, as to the Primary Law, or Obligation.

Now this part of Righteousness that Intervenes between Man and Man generally, is, *suum cuique tribuere*: This therefore supposeth a Right, or Propriety settled in that Person to which it is to be given; and this Right of Propriety may be lodged in another, by some of these ways.

First, By the Divine Positive Law. Thus under the State of the *Jews*, a right of Propriety was lodged in the Priests, for their parts of the Burnt-Offerings; and in the *Levites* for their Tythes; and he that withheld them was an Unrighteous Man; he did not *suum tribuere*.

Secondly, *Jure naturae*; As I have Interest by the Law of Nature in my own Breast, and Family and Children.

Thirdly, By the *jus gentium*; where it is not Corrected by a Municipal Law. Thus the *primus inventor*, or possessor of things, whereof no particular Interest was lodged in another, acquires a Property;

M 3 and

and he that detains it from him is Unrighteous : Thus *Rubin* hath a right to the Mandrakes which he found, against *Rachel*, and they were not to be taken from him but by his own consent, or the consent of his Parents, who by the use then obtaining, had the Power over them.

Fourthly, By the Municipal Laws, or Customs of that Kingdom, or City, wherein a Man lives ; for as hath been said, every Man that enters into any Society tacitly and interpretatively, obligeth himself to observe the Laws and Customs thereof, and particularly such as direct the manner of acquiring and transferring Property..

Fifthly, By a Man's own particular Agreement ; and this may be with relation either to Words or Things..

Sixtly, In relation to Words or Signs : When one Man, either by Words or Signs, imparts any thing to another, that other Man hath an Interest therein ; namely, that the Man relates, or imparts what is true ; and therefore he that knowingly, and with an intention to deceive, tells another a Lie, he doth not *sum tribuere* ; namely, that truth that the Word, or Signs import ; and this part of Justice between Man and Man is called Veracity.

Secondly, in relation to Things ; I may transfer a Right or Property to another several ways ; for under this Head come all the several parts, or respects of Commutative Justice : I shall reduce them shortly to these Two Heads ;

i. Tran-

1. Translation of Properties, by way of Contract, whereby that which is mine, becomes anothers in point of Propriety, as by Sale, Location, &c. It is a part of this Moral Righteousnes, that I detain it not from him to whom I have sold it.

2. Translation of Interest, by way of Stipulation, or Agreement; which, though it do not always alter the Property, yet it gives another an Interest in my Performance thereof; such are the Restitution of what is Borrowed, Delivery of the Pledge upon Payment, Payment of Money, or Delivery of Goods according to Promise. And thus far concerning that Common Righteousnes which is between Man and Man.

Secondly, The Second kind of Righteousnes relates to others, as they stand in a different Relation; these are those which I have before called Moral Offices, or *Officia Moralis Justitiae*; whereas, though between these various Relations, there are Reciprocations of Mutual Offices, yet therefore Reciproca-
tion is not in the same Kind or Nature. And these Relations are especially Two, Oeconomical, and Political.

First, The Relations Oeconomical consist in Three Kinds of Relations.

1. Father and Children: Wherein, though there be some Offices that are simply Reciprocal, as Love, and Mutual Support; yet there are some that are Specifical to such Relation, as Authoritative Direction, Command, and Correction to the
M 4 Father;

Father; Subjection and Obedience to the Children.

2. Husband and Wife, wherein there be also some Duties simply reciprocal, as Love, and Fidelity; so there are some that are appropriate, as Protection and Maintenance to the Husband, Reverence to the Wife.

3. Master and Servant, wherein also there are Duties specifically appropriate; as Payment of Wages, Convenient Supplies, &c. to the Master; Diligence, Fidelity and Obedience to the Servant.

Secondly, The Relations Political; are principally Prince or Magistrate, and People; wherein,

1. The Offices of the Prince, or Magistrate, are,

First, Protection.

Secondly, Government according to Law.

Thirdly, Administration of Justice;
Retributive, to be done Justly, Speedily,
with Equality and due Moderation;
Distributive; in Distribution of Publick
Offices, &c. to be done Prudently,
and according to desert and fitness.

2. The Offices of the People, relative to Prince or Magistrate; Subjection, Obedience, Reverence, Support. These are various and divers, according to

to the several Constitutions of Kingdoms, States, and Cities, wherein their several Municipal Laws direct the Quality or Nature of the several Offices of Prince and People, with relation each to other.

And thus far touching Righteousness, according to a regular and strict Sense.

Secondly, The next part of the Divine Law is the Law of Charity, or rather Love, *Philanthropy*, which comes equally under the Command of the Law, as that of Righteousness or Justice; and indeed it is but a Species of Righteousness in its large and comprehensive Sense; yet, with this difference, the Rules of Righteousness are more defined and determinate: But the Rules of Charity, in relation to the exercise of the particular Acts thereof, are, in many things, more left to the *dictamen bone Conscientiae*, under the several Circumstances of Time, Place, Person, Manner, Degree, &c. wherein, nevertheless, this Rule of our Saviour will be a singular Directive upon all Occasions, as shall be hereafter shewn.

Now the parts of this Charity, or *Philanthropy*, seem to be these.

1. Beneficence; under which we reduce Liberty, Hospitality, Eleemosynæ, or Almsgiving; the contrary whereof, are narrow-heartedness, Covetousness.

2. Clemency; under which we may reduce, First, A Mitigation, or Remission of the Extremity of part of our Right, when it may be with a benefit

benefit to others, and without an Enormous Detriment to our selves. Secondly, The using of Equity, or Moderation for the Good of others, within the Extremity of Legal Right. Thirdly, Moderation. Fourthly, Longanimity, or Patient bearing of Injuries. Fifthly, Forgiveness of Injuries to a Person that seeks it : The contrary whereof are, a Rigorous Exaction of our own Rights to the Extremity, taking the utmost Advantage of the Severity of Laws, or Implacableness, Vindictiveness, Fierceness.

3. Inoffensiveness ; Denying our selves in what we may lawfully do, or require, rather than giving an offence by our use of a lawful Liberty.

4. Condescension to the Weaknesses and Infirmitiess of others.

5. Compassion and Sympathy with those in Misery.

6. Humility and Lowliness of Deportment to others giving them Preference ; the contrary whereof, is Pride, Haughtiness, Arrogance, Self-attrition, and despising of others ; Ambition, Vain-Glory.

7. A General Frame of Humanity and Benignity to all Mankind, whether Relations or Strangers, Friends or Enemies, endeavouring all good Offices to their Souls, Bodies, Estates, yet observing that due Proportion that becomes Prudence. The contrary whereof is Selfishness, making a Man's self the single Center and End of all he doth.

8. Gratitude,

8. Gratitude; acknowledging Benefits received, and looking upon himself as under an Obligation so to do; and studying all due and decent means, and opportunities of expressing it.

9. Decorum, or Decency, in all our Actions, that we may avoid all possible offences given, and using this Decorum in our Gestures, Applications, Speeches, Habit, Addresses, Receptions, and generally in all we do.

10. Simplicity and Sincerity in all our Actions and Works; the contrary whereof is Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, Deceit, Circumvention, Craftiness, Guile, which are as much against the Law of Charity, as Cruelty or Revenge.

11. Meekness and Gentleness; the opposite whereunto is Roughness, Stubbornness, Frowardness, Morosity, Censoriousness, Superciliousness.

12. A fair and good Opinion of others, and a fair Interpretation of their Actions, without very just cause to the contrary: The opposite whereof are Evil Surmisings, Calumnies, Backbiting, readiness to receive, or believe False Reports, Causeless Suspicions.

13. Rejoicing in the Good and Welfare of others, whether Friends or Enemies. The contrary whereof is Envy, Rejoicing in other Mens harms; Rejoicing when an Enemy falls into Mischief, an Evil Eye at others Good.

14. An

14. An entire Love to Peace, and endeavouring by all due means and opportunity to preserve and to restore it both in relation to himself and others; and therefore is not easily provoked, and is easily pacified, moderates his Passions, keeps them under Discipline, seeks Reconciliation.

These are some of those many Parts of Charity, or Love, or *Philanthropy*, that Virtue that so much commends the Christian Religion, above all other Religions in the World, in relation to the Moral Actions between Man and Man; it is a large and comprehensive Duty, and such as hath an influence into all the Moral Actions of our Lives, and therefore 'tis hardly possible to Enumerate all the Parts of it. But this may serve for our Direction in the application of this Rule of our Saviour.

Thus we have the Subject matter of this Rule; The *whatsoever* including all the Moral Actions between Man and Man, whether Actions that relate to Righteousness, or Justice, or the Actions that relate to Charity.

And this Rule of our Saviour is very useful in relation to both; but especially to those Actions that concern Charity: For the Works of Moral Justice, or Injustice, are more determinate, not only by the Divine Laws of God, but in a great measure by the very Laws of Men also, in every particular Kingdom, or State, which command some things, and prohibits others, in things relating to Moral Justice or Injustice; and Establisheth certain Tribunals, or Courts, that, by Civil Coercion compel the Observance of those Rules of Moral Righteousness enjoyned by Laws, and punish

nish the Violation thereof: And therefore the Laws of Men, in such cases, do not only direct that Moral Justice that is to be between Man and Man, but compels the observance of it.

But the Divine Law of Charity is not so determinate and particular in its exercise, as the Laws of Righteousness and Justice are: If a Man kill another, he knows he Violates the Sixth Commandment; he knows he offends the Municipal Law of the Kingdom wherein he lives, and knows the Penalty of it. But when a Man denies an Alms, or is strait-handed, where he should be free, it is more difficult for him to discern his Duty, or the neglect of it, because though Charity be enjoined by the Divine Law, yet the several Circumstances, when and how, and how far forth it is to be exercised, are not so evident, but must necessarily therein be left to the Prudence and Integrity of a good Conscience.

Again, when I Borrow Money, the Law of the Land will compell me to pay it, and make me Just, because it is a part of that Moral Righteousness that is enjoined by Humane Laws. But there are very many Acts of Charity, which, though enjoined by the Command of God, yet come not under any precise, or determinate Laws of Men. The Divine Law of Charity binds me to be Liberal, to give Alms, to Forgive Offences, to be thankful for Benefits, &c. But these come not under the consideration of Humane Laws, and perchance it is not fit they should, because it is impossible for any Humane Law to accommodate it self to the Circumstances of those Actions, neither can it prescribe the Time, Manner, or Measure of it; but it must necessarily be left in a great measure to the decisi-

decision of the Prudence and Integrity of the Consciences of particular Persons : And therefore this Rule of our Saviour is of most excellent use, and indeed of necessity for the direction of the Conscience, especially in these cases of the Law of Charity.

1. Because though the Law is General, yet the Conscience stands in need of Direction, in relation to the particular Action, and the Application of that General Law to this particular Action.

2. Because those Actions that simply relate to Charity, do rarely come under the Correction of a Temporal Law : For Instance, the Law of *England* tells me, that I must pay my Rate to the Poor : Now it is no longer an Act of Charity simply, but of Justice. But the Laws of *England* do not compel me to give to this or that poor Man that asks, therein I am only obliged by the Divine Law of Charity ; and my Conscience, Circumstances considered, is my great Directrix in this Action ; and the Rule of our Lord here prescribed the great Director of my Conscience. This Rule therefore, though it be of admirable use in all Actions of Moral Righteousness between Man and Man ; yet it is not only of admirable use, but even of necessity, in relation to Acts of Charity.

Secondly, Having now done with the Object of this Precept ; namely, Moral Actions, whether of Righteousness or Charity ; I come to the Subject or Persons to whom this Rule or Precept is prescribed, which is Man, under the Pronoun (*ye*) (*Whosoever ye would, &c.*) And this Subject may be

be consider'd Two ways. *First*, Absolutely, and in its full extent. *Secondly*, Relatively.

First, Absolutely, and in its full Extent ; so it comprehends all Mankind ; *Whatsoever ye Men of any kind of Condition, ye Buyers, ye Sellers, ye Borrowers, ye Lenders, ye Rich, ye Poor, ye Friends, ye Enemies, ye Fathers, ye Children, ye Masters, ye Servants, ye Princes, ye Subjects, whosoever ye be,* insomuch that ye are all Subjects to the Great King of Heaven and Earth ; and consequently ye are, and ought to be Subjects to the Laws of God, whether they are the Laws of Imperate Righteousness, or Justice, or Laws of Love and Charity ; *ye, whosoever ye are, that are concerned in any Acts of Morality towards any others, ye are the Persons to whom this Command is directed, Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*

Secondly, Relatively, or Restrictively ; So it is directed to Man, *Sub ratione agentis Moralis* ; or, *Sub ratione hominis Moraliter acturi* : In every Moral Action that a Man is doing, or about to do, there is the Moral Action it self ; whereof before : And the Agent, the Person that is doing, or about to do the Action ; and the Patient, the Person to whom the Action is done, or to be done. This Rule, or Precept, or Direction, is given to the Agent, or the Person that is doing, or about to do this Moral Action : And thus the Direction then runs, *Ye Men of what Condition soever, under what Relation soever, that are doing, or to do, or about to do any Moral Action to another, observe this Rule for your Direction in this Action that*

that ye are about to do, or invited to do to others,
Do as ye would be done by.

Thirdly, I come to the Third thing; namely, that wherein the *vis directiva*, or the Rule of Direction consists; which is no other but the Will of him that is to do, or not to do the Action in question, under a Transposition of the Person; namely, the Will of him that is now the Agent, were he placed in the stead or toom of him that is the Patient: As if he should have said, You, *Titius*, are now under a deliberation, whether you should, or should not do this or that particular Action to *Caius*; whether you should forgive him that Injury that he hath done to you, or whether you should over-reach him in such a Bargain; consider with your self, that were you *Caius*, and he *Titius*, would you not have him to forgive you; if you would then now forgive him: Would you have him to over-reach you in this Bargain? If you would not, then do not over-reach him. So that the Will of the Party, under this Supposition of the Transposition of the Person, is that which is prescribed as the *index directorius* of the Action under deliberation.

But because the Will in Man is a Rational Faculty, and proceeds to its Determination, upon the previous deliberation of the understanding; therefore, in this Judiciary decision, we shall find these several Acts, which every Man that hath but the ordinary use of Reason, may, and doth, with great facility exercise; and therefore may, without any difficulty, or intricacy, or uncertainty, come to a right and just determination touching any Action

Action to be done, or omitted, without Studying Casuists, School-men, or Moral Philosophers; namely,

First, He may, and easily can consider the Action in deliberation what it is, what are the circumstances of it; suppose, for the purpose that the deliberation be, whether he shall forgive such a trespass or no; he can easily consider what the trespass is, of what value, how it was done, or in what manner, or with what circumstances; whether forgiveness be desired and what would the consequence be, if the desire should be granted; whether it would not be for his Reputation, or would be a means of a future Peace and Friendship.

Again, Secondly, He can easily consider his own Condition, whether he would be much the worse for relinquishing his Satisfaction of this Injury; whether he be not well enough able to bear it, and whether it would not procure him more contentedness of Mind, if he did relinquish his Satisfaction, that would more than countervail the benefit of Revenge.

Thirdly, He could easily understand the condition of the Wrong-doer. Is he not very submissive, desires forgiveness, is sorry for the wrong he hath done; and besides all this, he is poor, and unable to make me satisfaction; and the wrong he did me was but my mistake.

Fourthly, It is then a very easie matter for him to consider; suppose I had committed the like Injury to him, by mistake, or over-sight, and I were

as poor as he, as unable to make satisfaction, as sorrowful for the Injury, as submissively desiring his pardon, and he as rich as I now am, and might remit the Injury without any great detriment; certainly I may, with great ease, suppose this; and so change Persons and Conditions with him by way of Hypothesis, or Supposition.

Fifthly, He might with the same facility know, upon such a supposition, whether he would not, upon these terms, willingly have the Injury forgiven him, and perchance would reasonably think the other a very hard and uncharitable Man if he would not do it.

Sixthly, Lastly, If he will not grossly prevaricate with himself, he can, upon this, conclude, that since I would have him to do thus to me, were my condition his, and his mine, I must now do the like to him, and forgive him the Injury he thus did me, upon submission: I have given that Judgment already against him were he in my stead, and I in his; and therefore I must not, in common ingenuity, retract, unless I shall be perversely unreasonable against the very decree of my own Judgment and Will.

Thus this Excellent Rule of our Lord sets up a Tribunal within every Man's own Breast, which will infallibly, and impartially direct him; and his own Will, and the Determination thereof, is become his Law and his Judge. And if he will be but honest and true to himself, he cannot be misguid ed; and certainly if a Man will be honest and true to himself, he may be; and all that is necessary

ry is but to know his own Mind, or Will, what he would in case the Tables were turned, and he himself to be the Patient, and the other the Agent; and then resolvedly to act according to such a Will or Desire, which he would entertain, or think reasonable under such a Transposition.

But there are some necessary Cautions to be used in this supposed Transposition of Persons, and the result of that Judgment that is to be made there-upon.

First, Among Men there be some that seem to stand in a mere parity, as the several Members of one Community, or Society, whereby it comes to pass, that the Actions of such Men, are, as it were, Commensurable, and fall under the same Common Congruity, or Incongruity. What is Unjust, or Unfit for *Gaius* to do to *Titius*, is unfit for *Titius* to do to *Gaius*: And in such cases, the practice of this Rule is less difficult; for they stand upon the same parity of Reason: If I would not have *Titius* Cheat or Deceive Me, or take away my Goods, or Beat me; I have herein a plain Rule not to do so to him.

But there are some Persons in a Community that stand in a different relation each to other; whereby many Actions that are Competible to one, are Incompetible to another; a Magistrate and People, Master and Servant, Father and Children: And in these Actions that are specifically appropriate to one relation, a measure is not to be taken by the Actions appropriate to the other: It is not reasonable for a Father to say, I would not have my Child Correct me, and therefore I must not Correct him: Nor for a Judge to say, I would not

have the Malefactor to Condemn me to the Prison; and therefore I must not Condemn him: The Actions are specifically appropriate to a Relation; and because of the difference of Relation, there is not justly a Reciprocation of the Congruity between them, nor a Commensurableness between the Actions of one and the other.

Secondly, But even in the particularities of the Actions, specifically appropriate to Relations, this Rule doth hold with a due alteration of Suppositions. For Instance, It is an appropriate Action to the Relation of a Father to Correct his Child, and there is no Reciprocation in it: But in the particular Action it self, the Father may, and must go by this Evangelical Rule; I am about, to Correct my Child, suppose I were a Child, and having the same Reason and Judgment I have, Would I have my Father Correct me without a Fault, or without due examination, whether I committed such a Fault; or, when the Fault is so small, that it deserves only a Reprehension, and not a Correction? Or would I have him Correct me in his Passion? Or would not my Submission and Repentance Expiate the necessity of a Correction? Or would I have it done in so severe a measure? Again, I am a Judge, and therefore Sentence is my Appropriate Action, in case of a Malefactor deduced into Judgment before me: But, were I deduced into Judgment before a Judge, Would I be contented to be Judged unheard, or without due Examination of the Fact? Or would I be Censured beyond the Measure or Nature of the Offence? In these and the like Cases, the Rule holds, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* And the

the Reason is because though the Father hath a Specifical Power of Correcting, which is not Reciprocal from the Child to him; and the Judge hath a Power of Inflicting Punishment upon a Malefactor, without Reciprocation of the like Power of the Malefactor upon him; yet in the before-mentioned Excesses he exceeds the Power committed to him; and indeed therein Acts variously, as a private Man, and therefore is under the Prohibition of *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

Tbirdly, And upon the same Reason it is, that although there be a Disparity of Relations, which have their several Specifical Appropriate Actions, without a Parity of Reciprocation; yet in such Actions as do intervene between such Relations that are not specifically appropriate to the Terms of the Relation, this Rule hold; as well as between persons not so related one to another: For Instance, the specifical Actions Appropriate to a Master, Father, or Magistrate, are, without a true Command in things lawful, Correction and PunitioN, if there be just occasion. And the specifical Appropriate Actions of the Servant, Child, or Subject, are SubjectioN, Reverence, and Obedience: Yet the Actions of Contract and Commerce are not appropriate to those Relations, but concerns them as persons not under any such Relation; and therefore the same Rules of Gommutative Justice in Contracts and Commerce hold between them as between other common persons, and consequently the natural Rule in hand is equally applicable to both, notwithstanding the difference of Relations; the Master, Parent, or Magistrate, may not deceive, or circumvent the Servant, Child, or Subject, in buying or
N 3 selling

selling, nor *E. converso*; and therefore if I would not have my Master or Servant, Father or Child, Governor or Subject deceive me in buying and selling, or break his word with me or Injuriously take away my Goods or Land, I must not do the like to them; for these are common Actions of Committative, or Private Justice, or Righteousness that concern not a Man under those disparities of Relation.

Fourthly, The Conscience, Will or Judgment, which is here prescribed as the Rule, must be the Will, Conscience and Judgment of him, that is to take the measure of his Actions thereby: And therefore, though in cases of different Relations, there is a necessity of a Tranposition of Persons in the application of this Rule; so that he that is about to do an Action, for the due regulation of that Action, and the application of this Rule, must oftentimes *induere personam alterius*: Yet the Judgment and Will, by which he must proceed, must be his own: For otherwise this Rule would be without any possible certainty, and would oftentimes occasion great absurdity in Actions. The excellence of this Rule consists in this, that a Man hath a Judge, or Director of his own, and within himself, whereby to measure, direct, and regulate his Actions; and is not necessitated to go farther.

And the Reasons hereof are these;

1. Because otherwise this Rule would want much of that perfection which it hath If a Man, upon every Moral Action which he is to exercise, should be driven to consult the Judgment of another, he would

would be to seek many times for a Director, when the imminence, or present exigence of the Action will not bear so much delay. It is true, every wise and good Man will as much as he can endeavour by Reading, and Advice with others, to certifie and settle his own Judgment and Conscience; but when he hath so done, the Judgment is still his own; and though perchance he hath by these means, altered his own Judgment, from what it was, yet this altered Judgment, is now become as much his own, as that he had before was his. I do not dissuade any Man from using the help of other Mens Advice, Direction and Knowledge, to rectifie his own Judgment, either in the general habit thereof, or in Relation to particular Actions, for this is prudent and necessary for every good and just Man. But all that I contend for, is, that still the Judgment must, of necessity, be the Man's own that must Guide him in voluntary Moral Actions of his own.

But, 2. In Relation to the Rule in hand, it must necessarily be a Man's own Judgment that must be his Guide. It is possible for another Man, well conversant in Morals, to know better than my self in the Theory or Notion, whether this or that Action be fit or just, or exactly commensurate to the Rules of Moral Justice and Righteousness; but it is impossible for any Man in the World to know so well as my self, whether I would have another to do that to me, which I am about to do to him; this Judgment, or Conception, namely, the Knowledge of what I would that another should do to me, lies only in my own Breast.

Again, 3. The determination of a Man's will, touching such Actions as he would have another do, or not do to him, is very much diversified, and varied, according to variety of circumstances of Time, Place, Person and other junctures that accompany the Action, touching which the deliberation and resolution is exercised. And these Circumstances must necessarily have a great influence upon the result of my Will, touching particular Actions, which I would or would not that another should do to me; and consequently my measure of such Actions, which I am about to do, or not to do to him, must thereby be greatly diversified: And the Nature, Quality, and Efficacy of these Circumstances, are not possibly so clear and evident to another, as they are to my self; and consequently another cannot so clearly determine, whether he would that another should, or should not do the Action to him were he in my place or stead; because he cannot have the same clear prospect of all those Circumstances which concern me in this Action, whereunto he must necessarily be more a stranger than my self.

4. Unless in the transposing of Persons, in order to make my Judgment of what I would, or would not that another should do to me, and consequently to make up thereby, what I should, or should not do to him; I say, unless in such a case, I should use that Judgment which I have at the time of such deliberation and conclusion, there will follow uncertainty and deception in the application of this Rule; for Instance, a Physician or Chyrurgeon hath a Patient that is under a desperate Distemper,

but

but he knows it not, or believes it not, and therefore is utterly averse to those sharp remedies that are necessary for the preservation of his life; the Physician or Chirurgeon must not measure his application to the Patient by this Rule. If I were in this Patients case, and under that apprehension that he is, I would not have these applications made to me, and therefore I must not make them to him. But his Rule must be, Were I in this Patients condition, and had that clear fence of the danger I were in, which I now have concerning him, I would have these Applications made to me, therefore I will make them to him.

Again, if a Father sees his Child hath gotten a Knife, or some dangerous thing, which the Child is extreamly fond of, but the Father knows it will do him mischief: In the deliberation of the Father, whether he shall take away this Knife; the Rule he must go by must not be thus; If I were this Child, and had no more Understanding than he hath, I would not have the Knife taken from me, therefore I will not take it from him. But his procedure must be thus; I know the Child will do himself harm with this Knife, and therefore if I were this Child, and had this Understanding which I have, I should be content this Knife that pleaseth me should be taken from me, therefore I will take it from him. Though to make the application of this Rule, I change Persons with my Child, yet in this supposed Transposition of Persons, I carry along with me my own Judgment, Discretion and Understanding that I now have about me; and though I assume my Child's Person in this Application, yet I assume not his Folly, Childishnes and Passion.

And

And, by this Explication, a Question that is often made may be resolved, *viz.* Whether a Parent, a Nurse, or a Magistrate, or a Physician, or any other Person, may not, for the good of the Child, Subject, Patient, or other Person, deceive him, when there is no other Expedient will avail the attaining of that good, or the avoiding of some imminent Evil, (always excluding a Lye out of this Controversie.) For Instance, a Person desperately sick, is utterly averse to the taking of a Potion, that would certainly or probably cure him; but extreamly fond of a Cup of small Beer, that alone would endanger or hurt him. The Patient calls for small Beer, and the Physician secretly conveys the Potion into the Beer, and thereby deceives, but Cures his Patient. If we should measure this Rule by this Application; namely, If I were this Patient, and under his Distemper and Misapprehension, I would not be thus deceived, and therefore I will not thus deceive him: I say, if we should make this Application in this manner, the Physician did amiss in this Deception, though the Patient be Recover'd by it; which seems to be a Misapplication in this Transposition of Persons. But the Rule by which the Physician doth, and may Justifie the lawfulness of this Deception, is this; I know the Patient will be endanger'd if he take not this Potion, or drink cold Beer without it; and though he, through his Distemper, knows not his own good or be averse to it; yet, were I in his case, I should, under that Judgment I have of things, rather be contented to be thus deceived for my Cure; and therefore I both will and may thus deceive my Patient for his good: Though to measure the Justness or Unjustnes of this Deceit, I change the suppo-

supposition of Persons with him ; yet in this Transposition I assume not his Distemper and Weakness of Mind, but keep my own Judgment and Understanding to Guide my Will, in Relation to this Action, notwithstanding the supposed Assumption of his Person, thereby to apply this Rule of Justice, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* And upon the same Account I will deceive my Child, by giving him Aloes, wrapt up in Sugar, to Cure him of a Disease ; and cheat him of a thing, that is, or may be noxious to him, with what Artifice I can , and yet without any violation of this Sacred Rule of Justice : For had my Child that Understanding that I have , though he needed not be cheated, or deceived in this manner ; yet he would be contented thus to be deceived for his good, if it were not otherwise attainable.

And the reason of the difference of these cases from Deceit and Cozenage, in Contracting or Dealing, is because, in the cases propounded, there is a defect of Understanding in the one Party, and the Deceit is for a necessary Good to the Party deceived, not otherwise attainable. But in the case of ordinary Contracts, and Commerce between Persons it is otherwise.

First, Because a Deceit therein sounds to the damage of the Party deceived, and not to his benefit.

Secondly, Because there is, if not an Express, yet an implied Agreement, by the common presumption and custom among Men, that there should be no Deceit in Dealing.

And

And here, by the way, likewise, may be consider'd, the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Stratagems and Deceits between Enemies, in a state of Publick War and Hostility : By a kind of Convention between Enemies in Hostility, Force and Violence, Mutual Depredation and Slaughter, seem to be allowed, otherwise no War could be lawful. And it may seem probable, upon the very same account, that Stratagems and Deceptions, so they arrive not at a plain Lye, may be also lawful; Because Persons in open Hostility, seem tacitly to have agreed, that each should do to the other all the Mischief they can, so far forth as that Implied Agreement is not controuled, either by express Pactions, as Truces, Leagues, Safe-Conducts, or the like; or by the common Laws of War, whereby Poysoning either of Weapons or Rivers is Interdicted. Thus Springing of Mines, Ambushes, seeming Retreats, or Flights, to draw the Enemy into an Inconvenience ; and a Thousand the like Stratagems of War are, and in all times have been, even by the Law of War, used and allowed : Thus *Joshua* did with the People of *Ai*, *Joshua* 8. *Gideon* with the *Midianites*, *Judges* 7. *Israel* with the *Benjamites*, *Judges* 20. And this seems justifiable, because in such a time there seems to be, as it were, a Reciprocal suspension, and laying aside of those Methods of Mutual Commerce and Intercourse, that are just and requisite in time of Peace; and another kind of Administration of things, undertaken and allowed on both sides, each party publickly denouncing and professing to others, that they will use all Acts of Force and Stratagem each to other, and that they will expect no other each from other. So that by this Interpretative Compact, each party hath made
that

that lawful in time of War, which is unlawful in time of Peace. And in the practice thereof, one party doth no otherwise to the other, than what he Interpretatively agrees and wills the other should do to him; and so not wholly out of the extent or direction of this Rule: But yet even in this case, there seems to be these Limitations, *viz.*

1. The Person that thus practiseth these Stratagems, or indeed any other Acts of Hostility, had need be very well assured, that the War it self is lawful and just: For that is requisite to justifie any hostile Acts of what kind soever.
2. That there be no express Lye, for that seems not to be justifiable in any Hostility, and seems, even by the very Laws of War it self, to be prohibited.
3. That there be no violation of any *fides data*, and therefore the Act of *Jacob*, *Judges* 4. seems very hard in relation to *Sisera*. And that of *Juditb*, in relation to *Holofernes*, because they both seem to be accompanied with breach of Faith, and the violation of the Laws of Hospitality: Nothing can justifie the former, but that the *Canaanites* were a People devoted by Almighty God to destruction.
4. How far an Enemy may sollicite a Defection, or Treachery, or may corrupt any of the adverse Party by Money, or otherwise, to betray a Trust (a thing frequently practised in most Wars) is too large a Theme, only it renders the Employment of a Souldier and Statist very full of Difficulties.

And

And thus far for the Rule, or Directive Faculty; namely, the Will of the Party, or Agent, under a Change or Transposition into the Party Patient.

Fourthly, The Fourth thing propounded is the Extent of this Rule under a Three-fold Relation.

1. To the Thing to be done, or not done.

2. To the Manner of doing it.

3. To the Application of the Rule Negatively and Affirmatively.

1. The Thing to be done or not done. It includeth all Moral Actions, from one Man to another, all Actions of Moral Righteousness or Justice, and Acts of Charity come under the Preceptive Part: All Actions of Moral Injustice or Unrighteousness, or Uncharitableness, come under the Prohibitive part of it.

2. The Manner of the doing comes also under this Rule; for Instance, where an Act of Charity comes under the (*whatever*) as giving of Alms, or remitting of an Injury, I am not only under the Command of doing the thing, because I would have another do so to me, but I am also under the Command of doing it,

First, Clearly.

Secondly,

Secondly, Speedily.

Thirdly, Sincerely and Cordially, and with Simplicity, Integrity, and Singleness of Heart, and not Cunningly, or Dilatorily, or Hypocritically, and for By-ends. Because, were I to receive an Alms, or a Forgiveness, I would willingly have it done with these Circumstances, or Qualifications.

3. In relation to the Application. The Rule, as it is prescribed in the Gospel, is Affirmative and Preceptive; *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so.* But this Affirmative Precept implies the Negative, that so much Celebrated Rule of Righteousness and Justice; *That which ye would not that Men should do to you, do ye not to them:* This Negative Precept includes very much, and goes very far in the direction of us in Moral Righteousness. But the Precept in the Affirmative, as it is given in the Gospel, is far more Extensive, and includes a greater measure and degree of Christian Perfection; So that the Application of this Precept is,

First, Negative; and that Necessarily Implied.

Secondly, Affirmative.

I shall begin with the Implied, or Negative Precept; *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne facias:* And this extends to prohibit all those vicious Habits or Acts opposite

opposite either to Righteousness or Justice, or to Charity or Goodness: And that upon this very Reason, or Indication, I would not have him do, or be thus to me.

And therefore if we should go through all those particular Instances above given of the opposite Vices to Righteousness or Charity, we shall find them all such as we would not have others do to us.

Take it first in the Vices or Habits opposite to Righteousness. There is no Man in the World that would have another Malicious or Envious to him, that would have another Kill, or Maim, or Wound him, or Rob, Cheat, Deceive, or Oppress him, in his Goods, or Estate; that would have another corrupt his Wife, Falsly Accuse, or Traduce him, tell him Lyes or Falshoods; or that would have another to break his Oath, his Word, his Promise, or Faith given to him; or that would have his Children Disobedient, or his Parents Unreasonably severe; his Servants Unfaithful, or Negligent; his Master Tyrannical; that would have his Inferiors Insolent, or his Superiors Oppressive; that would have his Magistrate Partial, Unjust, or Tyrannical, or his People under him False or Rebellious.

Again, in the Habits of Affections, or Vices opposite to Charity, there is no Man would have another Narrow-handed, when he is able to Relieve his Necessity; a Rigid Exacter of the Extremity of the Law; Impatient, Proud, or Insolent in his Carriage towards him; Making himself the Center of all he doth; Ingrateful, Rough, and Severe and Surly; Craftily Circumventing him; Morose, Censorious, Supercilious; ready to cause, or entertain

tain false Reports or Surmises; Unpeaceable, Unquiet, and the like. These things are so plain, that there needs no other Evidence of the Truth thereof, than the common Sense and Sentiments of all Mankind, not one excepted: For, though there be many Men that know not, it may be, what the definitions of these Vices are, or that give a clear account wherein the formal Obliquities of them doth consist; yet there is no Man so stupid, that by his own Sense finds not, that he is unwilling to have another use, or practise them upon him, because he is easily and readily sensible of the smart and inconvenience they bring to him; and therefore his Will hath an aversion against them, as noxious and uneasie, and inconvenient to him.

This therefore is the first step, or the first *postulatum*, which every Man, even upon his own Sense, without the help of any other Process, or Inquiry, concludes, that he would not have another do, or use to him, any of those Habits, or Acts, that are thus contrary to Moral Righteousness, or Justice, or Charity.

Secondly, the Second step, or *postulatum*, is what this action is that I am about to do to another, for the matter, or Circumstances of it, consider'd nakedly in it self, without examining whether it be or be not against the Rules of Righteousness or Charity; As for Instance, I do most certainly know, that this action is the taking away of another Man's Goods, wherein I have no property, by the Laws of the Land wherein I live; or it is an Over-reaching of him in a Bargain, and I know it to be so, or the like.

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Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Third Procedure, after a Man hath considered the action what it is ; is for a Man to consider, whether he would that another should do that action to him ; and if he would not, he hath thereby given to himself the Rule and Measure, and Determination of the Question, Whether he ought, or ought not to do it to another, without any curious Inquiry, or Speculation, touching the Justice or Injustice, Regularity or Irregularity of the action, according to Niceties and School-Distinctions. His own Sense is the Judge : So that as the Eye doth see, and discern this Colour to be one, and that to be another ; this to be White, and that to be Black ; or at least discerns, this is Grateful, that Harsh, Insipid, Distastful, Offensive, without any Philosophical, or Logical Argumentation ; even so a Man may easily find that this, if it were done by another to me, would be grievous and offensive, and distastful, and in my own Judgment, Uncharitable, or Unjust.

And thus, as my own Sense, without any other Ratiocination, gives me a clear satisfaction, touching the general Notion, of what is Unjust, or Uncharitable ; that it is such as I would not have done to me. So this lasting, as it were, the particular Action that is under Deliberation, gives me a plain and clear estimate, even upon the account of my own Sense and relish of it, that it is such an action which I would not have done to me.

And here is the Excellence of this Rule, that whereas, as I before observed, the great difficulty in the Regiment of a Moral Life, is not so much in the discovery and assent unto common Notions, as in the due accommodation of particular actions to these

these common Notions, and the true stating of the Moral Rectitude, or Obliquity of particular Actions: This Rule in hand gives us the true and clear Estimate of particular actions, not upon a large Philosophical procedure, or discussive Proces, but by the plain, easie, near Evidence, as easie and as obvious as Sense it self: It being no more but this, this is an action which I am very certain I would not have another do to me.

Fourthly, The Consequence and Conclusion, and the Final Decision that is thereupon to be made, is this; I must not therefore do it to him, and I must not do it upon these two accounts.

First, Because the Son of God hath brought from Heaven, and from the Great Monarch of the whole World, unto me, That I must not do that to another, which I would not have another do to me: and if there were no other Obligation upon me, but his Command, it is enough to enjoyn my Observance.

Secondly, If there were no such express Command given me, yet the very Precept it self includes a most Evident Conviction of an Eternal and indispensable Justice in it: For if I Judge this Action should not be done to me, and that it were Unjust and Unreasonable if it were so done; Why should I go about to do that to him, that I would Condemn as Unjust if done to me?

So that the Resolution of this whole Decision seems to be into this Syllogism.

1. Whatsoever I would not that another should do to me, I may not do to him.
2. But this action now under deliberation, is such, that I would not another should do to me.
3. Therefore I may not do it to him.

The Evidence of the Truth of the *Major Proposition* is grounded upon the clearest Evidence,

First, Of the Divine Command.

Secondly, Of the Intrinsic Justice of the Precept it self.

The Evidence of the *Minor* is the clearest Evidence that can be; for I do most certainly know what the action is that I am about to do: and again, I do most certainly know, that I would not have another do this action to me: I know it as well, as I know that I see or feel: And therefore the Conclusion is most certain and infallible.

Only we must have recourse to what hath been in general premised; where I have spoken of the Rule, or (*would*) in general; especially where Persons are under different Relations.

There seem to be two great Obstacles to the due and constant observance of this excellent Rule.

1. *Passion.*

2. *Self-Love.*

1. *Passion*

1. *Passion* many times so far prevails upon Men, that it makes them precipitate and incogitant in their actions; and thereby this Rule is often broken before Men think of it: But surely this is such an Infirmity, that Man may easily break by resolution, to take a due consideration of what he doth: And if a Man will but insure himself a little to repeat this Rule to himself, before he undertake any action, he will very easily Master that Precipitancy and Incogitancy which haste and passion occasions; and he will soon find the benefit of this Experiment.

2. *Self-Love.* Man is very much addicted to Love himself; and that Self-love blinds and seduceth his Judgment, whereby he oftentimes attributes to himself such Circumstances, as render the very same action done by him to another to be Just and Righteous; when the very same action done by another to him, seems to be Unjust: For instance, *Gaius* hath done *Titius* a Trespass; *Gaius* comes to him, and tells him he is sorry for it: he is a poor Man, and desires him to forgive him. *Titius* refuseth: *Gaius* replies; Sir, Had you done me the like Trespass, and sought to me, I should have forgiven you, had you been as poor as I am, and I as rich and well able to bear it as you. *Titius* replies, But I have formerly obliged you by many Kindnesses, and against all these you have Trespassed in this Trespass. This is not the first Trespass you committed; I have passed by many formerly: I shall grow contemptible, and every one will be ready to do the like, if I pass by this: Though I am richer than you, I have more Dependants than you, more Children and Relations;

and I must bear a port answerable to my Place : and the damage that I have sustained by this Trespass, hath made you richer than you were before, and me poorer : and therefore upon these, and many other Circumstances, the Cases are different ; and I must have full reparation of the Damage ; and also secure my self against future injuries from you and others, by making you a severe Example for this. And by such kind of Arguings as this, there will be a fair Gloss put upon any thing ; and the Circumstances which a Man will draw together, to exempt a Man from his Duty, will be endless. But let *Titius* now be but honest to himself, and sincerely deal thus with himself : I know the Trespass that is committed, the Damage it hath done me, the Condition I am in to bear it, the Poverty of him that cannot make me satisfaction : I see his Submission : Were I in *Gaius* his stead and place, Would I not think it too severe for *Titius* to exact the severity of the Law, or to deny a Pardon for this Trespass that he can never satisfie. If I should be of that Mind, then I will be of the same Mind now, and forgive him upon his Submission, and promise of future Amendment. The Truth is, this Precept doth discharge Self-love from having to do in this business of Moral Righteousness or Charity ; or at least puts it in that condition, by Transposition of the Persons, that it speaks as much for *Gaius* as it doth for *Titius*, when *Titius*, by Transposition, sustains the Person of *Gaius* ; and so Self-love becomes equally an Advocate for *Titius*, and against him.

Indeed, if a Man will be wilfully and perversly Unjust ; and although he be Convinced, that he would

would not have the same thing done to him, that he is about to do to another; will, notwithstanding that Conviction, do the thing; there is nothing to be said to such a Man, but that he hath rejected his Duty to God, and the common Sentiments of Righteousness and Goodness to Mankind. But certainly he that desires to walk according to the true Rules of Justice and Charity, hath, if he will be but sincere and true to himself in this Rule of our Saviours, a plain, easie, and clear direction for all actions of Righteousness and Charity.

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DISCOURSE
OF
RELIGION.

CHAP. I.

The Ends and Uses of it, and the Errors of Men touching it.

TRUE Religion is the greatest *Improvement, Advantage, and Privilege of Humane Nature*; and that which gives it the noblest and highest Pre-eminence above other visible Creatures.

We may observe in many Brute Beasts and Birds admirable Instincts, Dexterities, and Sagacities; and in some of them some dark resemblances of Reason, or Ratiocination: But Religion is so appropriate to the *Humane Nature*, that there are scarce any sort of men, but have *some Religion*: Nor do the most subtle or sagacious Brutes afford any signs thereof, as communicated to their Natures.

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It is one of the chiefest Mercies and Blessings that Almighty God hath afforded to the Children of Men, and that which signally manifests his Providential Care towards and over them, that in all Ages and among all Nations he hath given to them *some Means and Helps* to discover unto them, though in different Degrees, some principal Sentiments of true Religion: 1. By the secret Characters, and *Impressions*, and Structures thereof in their Minds and *Consciences*. 2. By his *Glorious* and admirable *Works*, commonly called the *Works of Nature*. 3. By signal *Providences*, and *Providential Regiment* of the World. 4. By raising up *Men* in all Ages of great *Wisdom*, *Observation*, and *Learning*, which did instruct the more Ignorant in this great Concernment, the Rudiments of Natural Religion. 5. By *Traditionaly Transmission* of many important Truths and Directions of Life, from Ancestors to their Posterity, and others: Though in process of time, evil Customs and evil Men did in a great measure impair and corrupt the Sentiments and Practices of Men, notwithstanding these helps. Therefore the same Mercy and Goodness of God, for the Preservation and propagation of the true Religion, was pleased to substitute a more fixed and permanent means: Namely, the *Holy Scriptures*, or *Divine Revelations*, committed to Writing in the Books of the Old and New Testament. Though the Religion delivered in both Testaments, be in substance the same; yet the true Religion was more fully, and plainly, and distinctly delivered by Christ, and his Apostles in the New Testament, together also with some additional Instructions for the better preservation and propagation thereof to Mankind, and divers additional Evidences to prove and manifest

nifest the truth of this Religion, to procure its belief and acceptation: As the Birth, Miracles, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ Jesus, the great Reformer of the Jewish, and great Institutor of the Christian Religion, so called from Christ that taught and asserted it. The Christian Religion is the most perfect Rule of our Duty to God, ourselves, and others; and was design'd principally for these Great Ends.

1. To restore to the Glorious God, the Honour, Duty, and Obedience of his Creature, Man; teaching him to Know, to Glorifie and Serve his Creator, to be thankful to him, to submit to his Will, to obey his Law and Command, to be thankful for his Mercies, to acknowledge him in all his ways, to call upon him, to Worship him, to depend upon him, to walk sincerely in his sight, to admire and adore his Greatness and Goodness in all his Works, especially in the great Work of the Redemption of Mankind by his Son Christ Jesus.

2. To enable Man to attain everlasting Happiness, the perpetual Vision of the Glorious God, and to fit and prepare him to be a partaker of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light and Glory.

3. To compose and settle Mankind in such a decent and becoming Rectitude, Order, and Deportment in this World, as may be suitable to the Existence of a Reasonable Nature, and the Good of Mankind: Which consists principally in a double relation: 1. To a Mans self, Sobriety. 2. To others, which consists in those two great Habits or Dispositions beneficent to Mankind, viz. Righteousness or Justice, and Charity or Love and Beneficence.

These three great Ends are succinctly delivered,
2 Tit. 11. 12. For the Grace of God, that bringeth
Salvation

Salvation hath appeared unto all Men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present World. Here we have these three Ends of Christian Religion. 1. *Godliness*, or our Duty to God. 2. *Salvation*, or our own everlasting Happiness. 3. *Sobriety, Righteousness*, which also includeth *Charity*, a part of Evangelical Righteousness.

And because Christian Religion was intended and instituted for the good of Mankind, whether poor or rich, Learned or Unlearned, Simple or Prudent, Wise or Weak, it was fitted with such plain, easie, and evident Directions, both for things to be known, and things to be done, in order to the attainment of the End for which it was design'd, that might be understood by any Capacity, that had the ordinary and common use of Reason or Humane Understanding, and by the common assistance of the Divine Grace might be practised by them.

The *Credenda*, or things to be known and believed, as simply necessary to those Ends, are but few, and intelligible, briefly delivered in that Summary of Christian Religion, usually called the *Apostles Creed*.

The *Agenda*, or things to be done or forborn, are those few and excellent Precepts, delivered by Christ and his Apostles, in that little Book of the *New Testament*, and yet even the tenth part of that little Book will contain all the Precepts of Christian Duty and Obedience contained in that Book: And in brief the *Baptismal Covenant*, as it is contained in the Liturgy, and Explanation thereof in the Church Catechism used among us, together with the Precepts of the Decalogue, contain in effect a Summary or brief Epitome of our Christian Duty.

And

And certainly it was necessary and becoming the Wisdom of the most Wise God, that that Religion and Doctrine, which equally concerned Men of all Kinds and Capacities, should be accordingly accommodated, as might be useful for all. If the Doctrine or Precepts of Christian Religion should have been delivered in over Sublime or Seraphical expressions, in high Rhetorical Raptures, in intricate and subtle Phrases or Stile, or if it should have been surcharged with multitude of particulars, it would have been like a Sealed Book, to the far greatest part of Mankind, who yet were equally concerned in the Business and End of Religion, with the greatest Philosophers and Clerks in the World.

Upon what hath been said, we may therefore Conclude,

1. That there is not, nor indeed may not be any great difficulty in the attaining of a *true saving Knowledge* of Christian Religion.

2. That the Duties of Christian Religion are not of so vast an Extent, but the Knowledge of them may be also attained by an Ordinary Capacity, *willing to learn*.

3. That considering that God Almighty is never wanting with his Grace to assist those that sincerely endeavour and desire to Obey him and Serve him, it is not so difficult a Business to perform an Evangelical Obedience to the Precepts of the Gospel, I say an *Evangelical Obedience*, though not a *Perfect Obedience*; an Obedience that is *Sincere*, though many times *Weak*, and failing; which nevertheless are forgiven, and there Sincere though Imperfect Obedience accepted by Almighty God through the Merits and Intercession of Christ, and our own

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Humiliation and Sincere Repentance for our failings.

And, 4. That when all is done, in *this Belief* and *this Obedience* Consists our *Christian Religion*. This is the *One thing necessary*, the *Magnum Oportet*, which is of highest Concernment and greatest Importance to Mankind.

But now if we do but look about us in the World, and observe and consider the Matters, wherein Men for the *most part*, do place *Religion*, we shall find quite another kind of *Rate* and *Nature* of *Religion*, than what Christ Instituted or Intended, and yet all veiled and shrouded under the Name of *Christian Religion*; and greater weight and stress laid upon them than upon the *True, Real, grand Imports* of *Christian Religion*.

I. I shall begin with the Subtilties of great Scholars, Schoolmen, and Scholastick Divines. These have turned *Christian Religion* into a most curious and difficult Speculation, and that which was design'd by Christ Jesus as a plain Direction to every Capacity, to be a Guide to a Righteous, Holy, and Sober Life here, and to attain Everlasting Life hereafter, they have [made] a meer *Exercise of Wit*, and a *Piece of greater subtlety* than the abstrusest Philosophy or Metaphysics. And this they have done principally these ways.

i. By *Disputes* about Questions, that as they are not in themselves *Necessary* to be known, so they are in their own Nature impossible for Humane Understandings to determine: As for instance; many, if not all, the Points controverted between the *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, as touching the *manner of the Decrees of God*, what kind of *Influence* he hath upon the *Wills of Men*. The *manner of the Divine*

Divine Knowledge of things Future, Contingent, or Possible. The Resistibility or Irresistibility of Divine Grace. The Nature of Eternity, and Infinite, and Indivisibility. The manner of the Existence of the Three Persons in the Unity of Essence. The Nature of Angels and Spirits; the Manner and Degrees, and Method of their Knowledge of things; their several Ranks and Orders; and infinite more Speculations and Disputes of things that do not in their own Nature fall under the discovery of Humane Understanding, by the ordinary Course of Ratiocination, and are impossible to be known further than they are distinctly revealed by Almighty God, and as it were industriously kept Secret by Almighty God, because they are not of use to Mankind to be known. It is far more possible for a Child of three Years Old, to have a true Conception of the most abstruse Points in Philosophy, or in the Mystical Reasons of State or Politick Government of a Kingdom, than for the wisest Man that ever was, without Revelation from God, to have any tolerable Conception or Notion of things of this Nature, with any tolerable Certainty or Evidence.

2. Again there are other Points disputed which are of a lower alloy, and yet not to be distinctly known without more clear Revelation than we yet have of it, nor yet of any Necessity for us distinctly to know: As for instance, concerning the Nature and Manner of Transmission of Original Sin; How far the Sins of immediate or remote Parents affect their Posterity with Guilt or Punishment; The Origination of the Humane Soul; How far the Efficacy of the Sacrifice of Christ was intentionally for all Men; concerning the Means of Communication thereof to Infants, Ideots, and the invincibly Ignorant; What is the real Consequence of Baptism

Baptism of Infants, or its Omission; How far the Will of Man is Operative to his Conversion, or Perseverance; Wherein the formal Nature of Justification consists; How far forth Faith singly is sufficient for it, without Sanctification and Habitual Holiness at least, and how far forth the Sincere Love of God, by a Person invincibly ignorant of many or most Points of Christian Religion is sufficient thereto; concerning the Estate of the separate Soul before the last Judgment, and how far it enjoys the Beatifical Vision before the Resurrection.

Disputes touching these and the like difficult Questions, have blown up mens Fancies with Speculations, instead of filling their Hearts with the true and genuine Effects of Christian Religion.

It is true, that Physicians and Naturalists do and may make Enquiries into the Method and Progress of Generation, and Digestion, and Sanguification, and the motions of the Chyle, the Blood, the Humours: For, 1. They have means of access to the discovery thereof by Dissection and Observation. And, 2. It is of some use to them in their Science, and the Exercise thereof. But when all is done, a Man of a sound Constitution digests his Meat, and his Blood Circulates, and his several Vessels and Entrails perform their Offices, though he know not distinctly the Methods of their Motions and Operations. But these Speculations above mention'd, in Points of Divinity, as they are not possible to be distinctly determined with any certainty, so they are of little use to be known.

If the Heart be season'd with the true Knowledge of the things that are revealed, and with the Love of the Christian Religion, and the Love of God, it will be effectual enough to order his Life, and bring

bring him to everlasting Happiness, though he be not, like an exquisite Anatomist, acquainted with a distinct Comprehension or Knowledge of the several difficult Enquiries of this Nature. Believe what is required by the Word of God to be believed, and do your Duty, as by that Word is directed; so that the Life of *Religion*, and the Love of God be once set on foot in the Soul, and there nourished, and commit your self to the Faithfulness and Goodness of God, and this will be effectual to the great End of *Religion*, though all these Disputes be laid aside.

3. Again, A Third mischief of *Scholasticks*, is in relation to *Practicks*: I. Some *Casuistical Divines* have so distinguished concerning Religious External Duties, that they have left little *Practical Religion* or Morality in the World, and by their subtil curious Distinctions, have made almost every thing Lawful, and with the *Pharisees*, in the time of our Saviour, have made void the Laws of God, (and of Man also) by their Traditions and Distinctions: So that Religion towards God, and all Righteousness and Sobriety, is so thin and narrow, and subtil, that by their Doctrine of *Probability*, and *Casuistical Distinctions*, all the Bones thereof are loosned. It would be too long to give Instances in particular: The late Velitations in *France* between some of the Popish Priests and Jesuits furnish the World with Instances enough of this kind.

II. The Second Instance is this, *The turning of the greatest part of Religion into Politick Contrivances*, for attaining or upholding *Power, Wealth, or Interest*.

There

There have been Instances many in this kind among Secular Princes and States, this was the Act of *Jeroboam* to set up Idolatrous Religion in *Samaria*, for preventing a return of the Ten Tribes to the House of *David*. And we may observe it in most of the Religion Established by Heathenish Princes, which was so ordered to accommodate their Interest, though to the extreme corrupting of Natural Religion.

But there is not so eminent an Instance thereof in the whole World, as that of the *Ecclesiastical State of the Church of Rome*, who have corrupted, as much as in them lies, the most pure and innocent Religion that ever the World knew, namely, the Christian Religion, by distorting it to Ends of *Wealth* and *Power*, appendicating to it certain new *Doctrines* and *Practices* merely to those Ends. And not only so, but have laid the greatest weight of Religion in the Observation of these *Political Appendications*; so that a Man that either questions or not observes the *Political Additaments*, runs as severe a Censure and Danger among them, as he that denies the most unquestionable Principles of Christian Religion. Such are their *Doctrines* of the *Popes Supremacy*, the *Popes Infallibility*, the necessity to *Salvation* to be of the *Romish Church*; the *Adoration of Images*, *Saints departed*, and *Angels*; the *Veneration of Reliques*; the *Doctrine of Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, and the *Church Treasury* of redundant Merits; the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of *Dispensations* and *Indulgences*; their *Canonization of Saints*; their *Pilgrimages*, numerous Ceremonies, *Theatrical Spectacles*; their *Doctrine of Transubstantiation*, and divers other Superadditions and Appendications to Christian Religion, which any person, not captivated

by them, may with half an Eye perceive to be invented and continued meerly for the support of the Grandeur of an Universal Monarchy, which they miscall *The Church*, and for the amassing of *Weal&h* and *Power* for the support of it, as might most easily be evinced by the particular Examination of all those Politick Appendixes.

And yet let any man observe it, he shall find as great fervour for the upholding of these Doctrines and Practices, and as great a *jealousie* of the least breach made upon them, as if the whole Concern of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of Souls lay in their Belief and Observance.

III. The third Instance is in relation to the *Forms of Church Government and Ceremonies*. That *Ecclesiastical Government* is necessary for the preservation of Religion, is evident to any reasonable and considerate man: And that the *Episcopal Government* constituted in *England*, is a most excellent Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and exceeds all other Forms of Ecclesiastical Government, may be easily evinced; and that it is the best adapted to the Civil Government in this Kingdom, is visible to any intelligent person: And yet I do not think that the Essence of Christian Religion Consists in *this or any other particular Form of Government*. It is a great help to the preservation of it in its Furity and Unity, and may be well called *Sepimentum Religionis Christianæ*, as the Jews call their Oral Traditions *Sepimentum Legis*, the Fence of the Law. But a man may be a *good and excellent Christian* under *this or any other Form* of Ecclesiastical Government, nay in such places where possibly there is no settled Form of Ecclesiastical Government established.

But if we observe many persons in the World; we shall find some so highly devoted to *this or that* particular *Form of Government*, as if all the *weight* of Christian Religion lay in it: Though the wise and sober sort of Conformists know and profess this, yet there be some rash people that will presently Un-church all the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas which are not under *Episcopal Government*. That if they see a man, otherwife of *Orthodox Principles*, of a *Pious and Religious Life*, yet if *scrupling some Points of Ecclesiastical Government*, though peaceable, they will esteem him little better than a *Heathen or Publican*, a *Schismatick, Heretick*, and what not: On the other side, if they see a man of great fervour in asserting the *Ecclesiastical Government*, observant of *External Ceremonies*, though otherwise of a *loose and dissolute life*, yet they will be ready to applaud him with the stile of a *Son of the Church*, and upon that account over-look the Miscarriages of his Life, as if the Essence and Life of Christian Religion lay in the bare asserting of the Form of Ecclesiastical Government.

On the other side, there is as great an Extremity of the other hand: There are many indiscreet persons, as well Divines as others, that having either by their *Education*, or by *Conversation* with Dissenters, or possibly to gain a Party, taken upon them the Patronage or Asserting of some other Form of Church Government, either *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, or something fram'd by their own invention, presently cry down the Established Government of the Church, as Antichristian or Popish, and cry up that which they have thus espoused as the only true Christian Regiment instituted by Christ; and presently among them, and their

Followers, this is made the discriminative Mark of a True Christian. If they see a man conformable to the Established Government, tho' he be pious, sober, and truly Religious, yet they despise and neglect him, censure him as a Formalist, and without the Power of Godliness: But if a man will but *revile* the Established Government, and be *bold* against it, cry it down, and cry up the New Institution into which they are listed, tho' the man be Covetous, Uncharitable, Hard-hearted, Proud, Impetuoust, and possibly otherwise Loose in his Conversation, yet such a man shall be cherished, applauded, and cryed up for a Saint, a Precious man, and Zealous for the Truth.

And although *Decent Ceremonies*, that are for the Preservation of the Dignity of Religion, and to keep due Order and Regularity, are not Essential Parts of Christianity, nor were ever so esteemed by wise and sober men, and yet are of use and convenience in the Church, nevertheless, we may easily observe among men the same Extremes as are before noted: Some placing the whole *weight* of Religion in their *strict Observance*, and making them the *principal*, if not the *only Badge of a Son of the Church*, hating and despising those that scruple *any thing* in them, or that do not come up in *every punctilio* to their Observance, though they be otherwise *sound* in the Principles of Faith, *pious* and *strict* in their lives, *just* and *honest* to all men, and sober, temperate and blameless.

On the other side, there be a sort of men that place the greatest stress and discriminating Point of Christian Religion in *opposing* and *decrying* all *Instituted Ceremonies*, though *Innocent*, *Decent*, and without any the least touch of Superstition in them, yet these

these must be decried as Popish, Antichristian, destructive of Christian Liberty, and the Party that with most boldness and vehemence declaims against them, is valued by them as a most precious man, a man of Zeal and Courage, and needs little else to justifie and magnifie him with his Party.

On the other side, though a man be of an holy and conscientious Life, sound in Principles, sober, blameless, peaceable; yet if he observe these blameless Ceremonies, though with great moderation and Charity to Dissenters, he shall be slighted and undervalued, esteemed a Formalist, a Time-server, or at best, a man wanting Courage, Zeal, Luke-warm, Timorous, and wanting the Power of Godliness. Such wild and wrong Measures do men of Extremes on all hands take of the true Essence and Ends of Christianity.

IV. Again, even among Professors of the Protestant Religion, there are divers disputed and Controv-
erted Points; as between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, especially touching the *Universality* of the *Redemption* by Christ, *Perseverance* and *Falling from Grace*, and almost every day there arise certain *new Opinions*, some of greater importance, but very commonly of small and inconsiderable moment; and these are taken up by the several Parties possibly agreeing in the same Fundamentals of Christian Religion. And sometimes they are entertained by a Party of men, because their Pastors are of that Opinion, or seem to be so; though often they are taken up, or instilled into a Party, to make a discriminative Mark between Persons of several Congregations. And then it is wonderful to see with what fervour each Party maintains his Tenant, and as great weight is laid upon it, as if the whole strels

of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of the Souls of men lay upon it; when God knows they are not of any moment in it.

Such was the old Controversie between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches about *Easter-day*, and another than that, in the Apostles times, about *Eating of Meats offered to Idols*, and among us at this day touching the five *Arminian Questions*. And yet we shall see men as fervent and zealous about them, as censorious of Dissenters from them, as fond of those of the same Opinion with them, as if all the Articles of the Christian Faith were immediately concerned in them; when all the while they are not of any moment to the Salvation of men, nor of any concernment to the Christian Religion, or the Ends thereof, but are only Artifices imposed upon men to hold up Parties, or to keep up some Man or Parties Reputation; imaginations which men are fond of, because they are their own, at least theirs whom they have in great Veneration or esteem.

V. Again, the fond Mistakes of men in this kind, are observable in very slight and trivial matters, which yet are entertained with a kind of Religious Veneration, when they serve to hold up Parties, or as discriminations of their Professions. Among the professed *Monks* and *Fryars* they have certain Habits assigned to several Orders, and as well anciently as now have several kinds of *Tonsures* of their Heads, which they observe with great severity; and place much Religion in them.

And even among the various Sects, or Perswasions among those that least abhor Popery, yet we shall find some such fond things upon which they lay a great weight of their Religion: Sometimes in very *Looks* and composing of their Countenance; some-

sometimes in the manner or Tone of Expressions ; sometimes in affected Phrases ; sometimes in Gestures ; sometimes in Habits and Dresses ; sometimes in use of Meats and Drinks of one kind or other. I shall give some few Instances.

You shall have some that place a great point of Religion in forbearing the *Eating of Flesh upon Fridays*, or in the time of *Lent*, but yet indulge themselves oftentimes in the eating of the choicest Fish, and the most costly Diet of other Meats : Others again think they must needs go as far on the other Extreme, Chusing those Seasons for Feasting upon Flesh, and think it acceptable to God, because it runs counter to the other Extreme.

Again, a time there was when it was thought that *Long Hair* was unbecoming Professors of Christianity, and upon that account some did wear their Hair short, even to extremity. But about the beginning of the late Wars, many took up, as they thought, a more elevated way of Christianity, and as a Badge thereof wore their Hair Extreme Long.

The Conformists usually wear Gowns or Canonical Coats : Many of the Nonconformists by way of discrimination use other Habits.

The former officiate, as the Canons require them, in Surplices, and sometimes with Hoods, and some are so taken with it, that they think the Offices want an Essential Part when performed without it ; some of the latter think the solemn Ordinances are profaned by it, and rendered Superstitious.

But among all the differing Perswasions among us, there are none that give a man more ample Evidence of Mistakes of this Nature, than those called *Quakers*, who place a great part of their

Religion in keeping on their Hats, in using the words *Thee* and *Thou*, in stiling the Months and Days of the Week not according to the usual Appellation, but the first, or second Month, or Day, in certain Habits and Postures unlike other men; in Silent Devotions at their Publick Meetings, in reviling and crying down the Established Ministry, Churches, Sacraments, *Lords-day*, and all manner of Forms, whether commanded or used by others; in refusing to take an Oath when Lawfully called thereunto; and some such other singularities. Take away but these, and the like affected Superadditions, the men are as other men, some indeed very sober, honest, just and plain-hearted men, and found in most, if not all the important Doctrines and Practices of Christianity; others (as it happens in all Professions) Subtile, Covetous, Uncharitable, Tumultuous, Ignorant, Proud, Despisers of others, Slanderers, and yet as long as they conform to their *Sect* in these impertinent or unwarrantable singularities, they please themselves with the Stile of the People of God, and are for the most part esteemed such by those of that Sect.

By this little Survey, we may easily take an estimate of the Mistakes of Mankind, and even among Christians, touching the Mistakes in point of Christianity and Christian Religion, and how common it is to misplace the *Name* of Christian Religion and the *Nature* of it, and attribute it to such things as in truth have nothing to do with it, but many times are directly contrary to it.

And yet even in these Impertinencies many men place the greatest moment of their Religion, and have as great and many times a greater zeal and fervour for them, than for the weighty Points and

and Duties of Christianity, and most of the business of many men consists in Velitations and Defences and Inve&ctives about them; the Pulpits and the Pres is engaged about them. Love, and Charity, and even common Humanity, and mutual Conversation between Man and Man, Church and Church, Party and Party, is broken by the mutual collisions and animosities concerning them. So that (the Lord be merciful to us and forgive us) there is as little Love, and as great distance and animosity between many of the Dissenting Parties among Protestants, touching these matters, as there is between Papists and Protestants, or between Christians and Infidels. And by this means the true Life of Christian Religion, and that which was the great End of its Institution, and the true genuine and natural Effect of it upon the heart and soul, and course of Life, is lost or neglected by them that profess it, or disparaged among those that either have not entertained it, or at least entertained it as they do the Customs of the Country wherein they are Educated. These men, when they see so much Religion placed by Professors of Christianity in these things, which every intelligent man values but as Forms, or Inventions, or Modes, or Artifices, and yet as great weight laid upon them, as great fervour and animosity used for, or against them, as almost for any Points of Christian Religion, they are presently apt to censure and throw off all Religion, and reckon all of the same make.

But when all is done, true Christian Religion is a thing of another kind of make, and is of another kind of Efficacy, and directed unto, and effective of a nobler End, than those things about which, as above is said, men so much contend, and that makes

makes so great a bustle and noise in the World. As the *Credenda* are but few and plain, so the *Facienda*, or things to be done, are such as do truly ennable and advance the Humane Nature, and bring it to its due habitude, both to God and Man.

It teacheth and tutors the Soul to a high reverence and veneration of Almighty God, a sincere and upright walking as in the presence of the Invisible, All-seeing God: It makes a man truly to love, to honour, to obey him, and therefore careful to know what his will is; it renders the heart highly thankful to him, both as his Creator, Redeemer, and Benefactor: It makes a man entirely to depend upon him, to seek to him for guidance, and direction, and protection; to submit to his Will with all Patience, and Resignation of Soul: It gives the Law not only to his Words and Actions, but to his very Thoughts and Purposes, that he dares not entertain a very thought unbecoming the sight and Presence of that God to whom all our thoughts are legible: It teacheth and bringeth a man to such a deportment both of external and internal sobriety, as may be decent in the presence of God and all his holy Angels: It crusheth and Casts down all Pride and Haughtiness both in a mans Heart and Carriage, and gives him an humble frame of Soul and Life, both in the sight of God and Men: It regulates and governs the Passions of the Mind, and brings them into due moderation and frame: It gives a man a right estimate of this present World, and sets his heart and hopes above it, so that he never loves it more than it deserves: It makes the Wealth and Glory of this World, high places, and great Preferments, but of

of a low and little value to him; so that he is neither covetous nor ambitious, nor over-solicitous concerning the advantages of it: It brings a man to that frame that Righteousness, Justice, Honesty, and Fidelity is as it were part of his Nature; he can sooner die than commit or purpose that which is unjust, dishonest, or unworthy a good man: It makes him value the Love of God and Peace of Conscience above all the Wealth and Honours in the World, and be very vigilant to keep it inviolably: Though he be under a due apprehension of the Love of God to him, yet it keeps him humble and watchful, and free from all presumption, so that he dares not under a vain confidence of the Indulgence, and Mercy, and Favour of God, turn aside to commit or purpose even the least injury to man; he performs all his Duties to God in sincerity, and integrity, and constancy; and while he lives on Earth, yet his Conversation, his Hopes, his Treasure, and the flower of his Expectation is in Heaven, and he entirely endeavours to Walk suitably to such a Hope: In sum, it restores the Image of God unto the Soul in Righteousness and true Holiness.

*Compositum ius, fasque animi, sanctoque recessus
mentis, & incoctum generoso peccus honesto.*

These, and the like to these, are the ends, design and effect of True Christian Religion, truly received and digested in the Soul. And certainly any man that duly considereth, will find that they are of another kind of Nature and Value, than those sublime Speculations, Politick Constitutions, Forms or not Forms, affected Singularities, upon which

which many lay the weight of Religion and for and touching which there is so much Contention and Animosity in the World. So that methinks men in this regard are like to a Company of foolish Boys, who when the Nut is broken, run scrambling after the pieces of the Shell, and in the mean while the Kernel is neglected and lost.

Now touching the Reasons or Causes of these Misapprehensions touching Religion, they are various: Some deserve compassion, and others are more or less excusable, according to their several kinds: 1. Some persons truly Conscientious and Zealous of any thing that they judge to be displeasing to God, as not agreeable to his Will, and observing the many Corruptions, that the *Romish* Church have brought into the Worship of God, are very suspicious of any thing that may look, as they think, that way; and therefore, though they are otherwise men of sound and Orthodox Principles, and of a truly righteous, sober, and pious Life, yet perchance are transported somewhat too far in scrupling or opposing some Ceremonies or Forms; And possibly their Education and Conversation with men of such Perswasions have confirmed them in it, so that they do not oppose out of a frowardness or peevishness of mind, or out of Pride, or a Spirit of Opposition, but in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts, and out of a tenderness for the Honour of God. These, though they are or may be mistaken in their Perswasions, yet certainly deserve Compassion, Tendernes, yea and Love also, much rather than Severity or Contempt.

2. Others

2. Others again, observing that certain Modes and Forms, and the rigorous Observations of them, are the common road for attaining Preferments or Favours of great Persons, upon that account exercise a marvellous fervour of mind for them, and a vigorous opposition of all that come not up to them in every punctilio, that they may thereby be taken notice of, and employed as useful and fit and vigorous Assertors and Instruments for this purpose.

3. Many times *Gain* and *Profit* is the End and Design of many Practices and Positions appendicated to Christian Religion, as is before observed in the *Romish Church*; and it is easily observable that Interest, Profit, and Temporal Advantage have a strong byas upon Mens Affections, and are dearer to them than the Truth of Religion, and carry men more vigorously in their upholding and maintenance, than Religion it self doth: And because the pretence of zeal for Religion carries a fair Plausibility with all men, therefore those very things that are but *Engines of Gain and Profit* are Christened with the specious Name of *Religion*.

It was the making of Silver Shrines for *Diana*, the Art whereby the Artificers got their living, that made the Out-cry, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*.

4. Again, it is very certain that Mankind hath a huge *kindness* and *partiality* for matters of their own *Invention*, and set a greater rate upon them, than upon other matters handed over to them by others: And hence it comes to pass that a new Fancy or Opinion, a new Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, that any man hath invented or studied out, is to such a man ordinarily of greater value

value and moment than it deserves, and shall be maintained with greater Zeal, Fervour and Animosity, than Points of greater truth and moment, as if the great moment and weight of Religion and Christianity lay in it, which is in truth nothing else but the Effect of Self-love and Self-conceit.

5. Again, though by Nature man be a sociable Creature, yet there is in most men a certain Itch of Pride, which makes them affect a *Discrimination from others*, and to become a kind of *separated Party* more refined than the rest of the same Common Profession.

I do remember in the beginning of our late Troubles, the *only Party* that *visibly appeared*, were some that desired some *Reformation in Church-matters*: And when that Party had obtained, under the Name of the *Presbyterian Party*, in a very little while there arose a more sublime Party of men, called the *Independent or Congregational men*, which much despised the former, as not arrived to a just Measure of Reformation. Shortly after that, there arose a kind of *Lay Party* which as much undervalued the Independent, and indeed the Ministry in general.

After that, there arose a Party Discriminating it self from all the former, viz. the *Quakers*. These various Parties were as so many Sub-divisions and Rectifications of what went before,

Now the means of holding up this *Discrimination of Parties* are certain *select Opinions*, *Practices*, or *Modes*, which are like the *Badges* or *Colours* that give each Party its Denomination, Distinction, and Discrimination: And consequently these Discriminative Badges have as great a rate set upon them as each Sect sets upon it self; and therefore must

must be upheld under the very Notion of the life of Religion, and must be maintained with the greatest fervour imaginable ; for otherwise the Distinction of the Sects themselves would fall to the ground, and become contemptible both among themselves and others, because otherwise there would appear very little and inconsiderable reason, upon trifling or small reasons, to Separate and Divide from others, and to Un-Church and Un-Christian them that are not of their Company or Society.

C H A P. II.

The Life of Religion, and Superadditions to it.

THE Truth and Spirit of Religion comes in a narrow compass, though the Effect and Operation thereof are large and diffusive. Solomon comprehended it in a few words, *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of Man:* The Soul and life of Religion is the Fear of God, which is the Principle of Obedience ; but Obedience to his Commands, which is an Act or exercise of that life, is various, according to the variety of the Commands of God : If I take a Kernel of an Acorn, the Principle of life lies in it : The thing it self is but small, but the Vegetable Principle that lies in it takes up a less room than the Kernel it self, little more than the quantity of a small Pins head, as is easie to be observed by Experiment, but the exercise of that Spark of life is large and comprehensive in its Operation ; it produceth a great Tree, and in that Tree the Sap,

the

the Body, the Bark, the Limbs, the Leaves, the Fruit; and so it is with the Principle of True Religion, the Principle it self lies in a narrow compass, but the activity and energy of it is diffusive and various.

This Principle hath not only Productions that naturally flow from it, but where it is it ferments and assimulates, and gives a kind of Tincture even to other Actions that do not in their own Nature follow from it, as the Nature and Civil Actions of our Lives under the former was our Lords Parable of a Grain of Mustard, under the latter of his Comparison of Leaven, just as we see in other things of Nature: Take a little Red Wine, and drop it into a Vessel of Water, it gives a new Tincture to the Water; or take a grain of Salt and put it into fresh Liquor, it doth communicate it self to the next adjacent part of the Liquor, and that again to the next, until the whole be fermented: So that small and little vital Principle of the Fear of God doth gradually and yet suddenly assimilate the Actions of our life flowing from another Principle. It rectifies and moderates our Affections, and Passions, and Appetites, it gives Truth to our Speech, Sobriety to our Senses, Humility to our Parts, and the like.

Religion is best in its *Simplicity* and *Purity*, but difficult to be retained so, without Superstrunctions and Accessions; and those do commonly in time *Stifle and Choak* the *Simplicity* of Religion, unless much Care and Circumspection be used: The Contempurations are so *many* and so *cumbersome*, that Religion loseth its *Nature*, or is *strangled* by them: Just as a man that hath some Excellent Simple Cordial or Spirit, and puts in Musk in it to make it smell sweet, and Hony to make it taste pleasant, and

and it may be *Cantharides* to make it look glorious. Indeed by the Infusions he hath given it a very fine Smell, and Taste, and Colour, but yet he hath so clogg'd it, and *sophisticated* it with Superadditions, that it may be he hath altered the Nature, and destroyed the Virtue of it.

The Superadditions and Superstructions in point of Religion are very *many*, and from very many and various tempers in Men that add them. As for Instance,

1. There is one common Superaddition that naturally all Men are apt to bring into it, *viz.* that it may *Gratifie the Sense*; for in as much as the most powerful and immediate influence upon us comes from, and through our Senses, and that Spiritual and Internal Apprehensions have not so strong or constant an Impression upon us, they seem things at a distance, flat, and the Soul is weary of bearing it self upon them; Men are apt to dress up Religion so as it may be grateful to the *Sense*; *Make us Gods that may go before us*: And this is the chief original of *Idolatry*, and also of *Superstition*.

2. There are other Superadditions that come even from the accidental inclinations of Men to some special matter which they value and love; and that they carry over into Religion; and many times mingle with it. As for the purpose, take a Man greatly admiring *Natural Philosophy*, he will be apt to mingle and qualify Religion with *Philosophical Notions*. Many of those things of *Aristotle* that are harshly and dishonourably asserted concerning the Deity, are from his tenacious adhering to certain Philosophical Positions that he had fixed upon.

Bebmen, who was a great Chymist, resolves almost all Religion in Chymistry, and frames his Conceptions of Religion suitable and conformable to Chymical Notions.

Q

Socinus

Socrates and his Followers, being great Masters of Reason, and deeply learned in matters of Morality, mingle almost all Religion with it, and form Religion purely to the Model and Platform of it.

Many great *Physicians* that have much observed the Constitutions of Mans Body, have figur'd to themselves Notions of the Soul conformable to the Results of their Observations in the Body.

And as thus in these sorts of Men so again Men of *Metaphysical* and *Notional Brains* and Education, as the Schoolmen, they have conformed Religion and their Notions concerning it to *Metaphysics*: And indeed have made that which is and ought to be the common Principle for the actuating of all Men, yea even of the meanest Capacities, to be a mere Collection of Subtilties, far more abstruse than the most intricate and sublimated Humane Learning whatsoever.

Again, take a *Politician*, or *States-man*, and he shall most easily conform Religion to *State-Policy*, and make it indeed a most excellent and incomparable Engine for it, and nothing else.

And if we narrowly look upon the Method and System of Religion as it is formed by the *Romish Hierarchy*, it is a most exquisite piece of *Humane Policy*, and every thing therein suited with most exquisite Art and Prudence for the support of the Grandeur and Interest of that State: This hath mingled with the Christian Religion the Pope's *Infallibility* and *Supremacy*, his Power of *Pardoning*, and *Dispensing* his Keys of *Heaven* and *Hell*, his *Purgatory* and *Indulgences*, and *Images*, and *Adorations* of them, his *Reliques*, and *Pilgrimages*, and *Canonizing* of *Saints*, and a thousand such kind of stuff most incomparably fitted to Mens Passions and Affections; and

and so to support that most Artificial and Methodical Fabrick of the Popish State: For indeed it is no other.

And if we look into other Kingdome and Places, we shall easily find, that *Religion* is so stated and ordered as may best conduce to the Peace, Order, Wealth, and Amplitude of every Kingdom; for wise Politicians, finding that *Religion* hath a great Impression on Mens Minds, and therefore if it be not managed by the Policy of State, may prove an unruly Business, if it be contemperated with Mixture prejudicial to the State, and that it may be a most excellent Engine if it can be managed and actuated for the Benefit of the State, do add to it much of their own, that it may be managed upon occasion, and they dress up *Religion* with *State-Policy*, whereby in truth it becomes nothing else but a meer piece of *Hu-mane Policy*, under the Name of *Religion*.

And on the other side, those either Politick or Discontented Spirits, that would put a Kingdom into Blood and Confusion, do mingle *Discontents*, and *Fancies*, and *Imaginations*, *Suspicions* and *Frowardness* with *Religion*, and call this confused Mixture of Phancies and Passions, *Religion*: And manage and brandish this Weapon with mighty disadvantage to that State which they oppose.

For it is most apparent, that as nothing hath so great an Impulsion upon Men, as that which comes under the apprehension of *Religion*, in as much as it concerns the greatest good, even their everlasting Souls and Happiness; so nothing is of so Universal Concernment as this, and therefore like to attract the most Followers; for every Man hath not an *Estate* to care for; but every Man hath a *Soul* to care for; and hence it is that scarce any great Con-

test between Princes hath happened in these latter Years; nor scarce any Commotion in a State, but Religion is owned on all sides; and God, and his Cause, and his Church, owned on all bands, and therefore still the scramble is for Religion, and who shall keep the Opinion of Religion most firm to them, and therefore they on all bands infuse into the thing they call Religion, those things that may most probably and politically hold to their Party.

Again, in Contest among Clergymen, every one Trims and Orders Religion in that Dress that may most make it their own, and secure it to themselves.

Take the Popish Clergymen: Hold what you will, if you hold not the Supremacy and Vicariot of the Pope, all the rest of your Religion is not worth a rush.

Come to the Reformed Episcopal Clergy: As to the Pope's Supremacy they disclaim it: But if you acknowledge not Episcopal Government; if you swear not Canonical Obedience to your Ordinary, if you submit not to the Liturgy, and Ceremonies, and Vestments and Musick used in the Church, you are at best a Schismatick.

Again, come to the Presbyterian Clergy, they will tell you Episcopal Government is Romish and Superstitious, and their Ceremonies and Usages Antichristian Usurpations; but if you mean to be of a warrantable Religion, you must submit to the Presbyterian Government as truly Apostolical.

Come to the Independent, he declaims against both the former, and tells you that the true Conformity to Apostolical Order is in the Congregational way.

Take the Anabaptist, and he tells you all the former are vain and irreligious, unless you will be rebaptized and listed in their Church.

Again,

Again, in Points of *Doctrine*, as well as *Discipline*, it is most plain that Tenents are professed or decry'd for *distinction of Parties*: Witness the Contest between the *Arminian* Party and the *Calvinistical* Party, which are only used as Methods on either side, to attract Proselytes and distinguish Parties: And in these and the like distinctions of Parties and Professions the Superstructures and Additions are in a manner incorporated and grafted into *Religion*, and in effect give the only Demonstration to it, according to the various Interests and Affections of Parties; when in truth, the main business of these and the like Additions and Superstructures, are but Policies to distinguish, and fortify, and increase Parties.

3. There are some *Superadditions* to *Religion*, that though I do not think they are to be condemned, yet are carefully to be distinguished from the true and natural *Life of Religion*; and so long as they are kept under that apprehension, they may, if prudently applyed and managed, do good. But if either they are imprudently instituted, imprudently applyed, or inconsiderately over-valu'd, as if they were *Religion*, they may and many times do harm; and such are decent and inoffensive Forms in the External Worship of God appointed by the Civil Magistrate, by the advice of those that are deservedly eminent in the Church for their Piety, Learning, and Prudence. And there seems to be very good reason for it.

1. Because if every Man should be left to himself, there would Confusion ensue; because no Man knew another's mind, or rule of his external Deportment.

2. All men have not that equal Prudence to judge what were fit to be used: The Magistrates are best to make choice of those Persons that are fittest to advise, and their Recommendations would be of greatest authority with others. Q 3 3. It

3. It is most certain, that Man being composed of Soul and Body, cannot so regularly and well fix himself to his Duty, without some justifiable help to his Devotion ; such are Vocal Prayers, Kneeling, and other Gestures proper for the matter of Worship which he intends.

And this may be one reason, why the Lord, tho' he strictly forbade all Idolatry and Superstition, and Heathenish Practice to the Jews, yet did appoint Sacrifices, Priests, a Glorious Tabernacle, and the Ark, which was not only a diversion from the Egyptian Idolatry which they had seen, but also a help to their natural Infirmitie for the Excitation of their Devotion.

And although our Lord Jesus came to abrogate even that Indulgence, and foretold that those *that Worshipped the Father, should Worship him in Spirit and in Truth,* under the Gospel, yet it is certain that the immediate Apostles of Christ did set certain orderly Observances in the Church for Decencies sake ; and it was justly allowable : As concerning the Order of the Exercise of their Supernatural Gifts, concerning Womens speaking in the Church, concerning Mens being covered in the Church, and Women veiled, concerning the manner and order of receiving the Sacrament, and the like.

But as there be Reasons for it, so there be Cautions to be used in it.

1. That they be not too numerous ; for their Multitude will rather oppress than secure Religion.

2. That in their Natures they be not Superstitious, but keep as much distance from it as well may be ; otherwise they will be in Religion, as the dead Fly in the Apothecary's Oyntment.

3. That

3. That they be clean and decent, not too full of Pomp or Ostentation: Ceremonies should be used as we use a Glass, rather to preserve the Oyl, than to adorn it. Too much Pomp causeth Jealousies even in Good Men, of a degeneration either to Jewish Ceremonies or Popish Vanities.

4. That though such are not to be rejected, because they are *Ancient*, so if they become *Unseasonable*, they are not to be held merely because they are *Ancient*. It is with Ceremonies as with some other things that are fit to be changed when they become unuseful or offensive, as the *Love Feasts*, *Extreme Unction*, and some other things, possibly practised, and fit enough, in the Primitive times: Many Ceremonies were at first invented and practised, to win over unconverted Heathens; to encourage weak Christians, especially the Jews, who were not easily to be drawn from their Legal Ceremonies: But when People become a Knowing People, that see beyond those Ceremonies, and understand when, and why, and how they came in, then it were Prudence to dispense with, or change them.

5. That they be not urged with too much rigour or severity upon such as conscientiously refuse them. Charity to a weak Brother in things indifferent in their own Nature, is then to be exercised, when my Brother is offended therewith, or never: And if it be said it is his Duty to submit to the Church, and not the Church to him; I do think that answer will not serve in this Case, for surely though a Child owes a Duty to a Father, yet his Neglect thereof, especially if it be upon a Conscientious account, will not excuse the neglect of a Father's Duty to his Child: The Apostle professed he would

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abstain from things lawful rather than offend his weak Brother.

6. And especially that we be careful to remember that Religion is another thing from these Ceremonies. These are of use, i. e. for Ornament; they are the Dressings and the Trimmings of Religion at the best, but the fear of God is of a higher extraction.

It is a pitiful thing to see Men run upon this mistake, especially in these latter Times; on placing all his Religion in holding the Pope to be Christ's Vicar, another placing Religion in this, to hold no Papist can be saved: One holding all Religion to consist, in holding Episcopacy to be Jure Divino; another by holding Presbytery to be Jure Divino; another in crying up Congregational Government; another in Anabaptism; one in placing all Religion in the strict observation of all Ceremonies; another in a strict refusal of all: One holding a great part of Religion in putting off the Hat, and bowing at the Name of Jesus; another judging a Man an Idolater for it: And a third placing his Religion in putting off his Hat to none; and so like a Company of Boys that blow Bubbles out of a Wall-nut-shell, every one runs after his Bubble, and calls it Religion; and every one measures the Religion or Irreligion of another, by their agreeing or dissenting with them in these or the like matters; and at best, while we scramble and wrangle about the pieces of the Shell, the Kernel is either lost, or gotten by some that do not prize any of their Contents.

Believe it, Religion is quite another thing from all these Matters; He that fears the Lord of Heaven and Earth, walks humbly before him, thankfully lays hold of the Message of Redemption by Christ Jesus,

Jesus, strives to express his thankfulness by the Sincerity of his Obedience, is sorry with all his Soul when he comes short of his Duty, walks watchfully in the denial of himself, and holds no confederacy with any Lust or known Sin; if he falls in the least measure, is restless till he hath made his Peace by true Repentance, is true to his Promise, just in his Actions, Charitable to the Poor, sincere in his Devotions, that will not deliberately dis-honour God, though with the greatest Security of impunity; that hath his hope in Heaven, and his Conversation in Heaven, that dare not do an unjust Act though never so much to his advantage, and all this because he sees him that is invisible, and fears him because he loves him; fears him as well for his goodness, as his greatness; such a Man whether he be an *Episcopal*, or a *Presbyterian*, or an *Independant*, or an *Anapapist*, whether he wears a *Surplice*, or wears none, whether he bears *Organs*, or bears none, whether he Kneels at the *Communion*, or for Conscience sake stands or sits; he hath the *Life of Religion* in him, and that Life acts in him, and will conform his Soul to the Image of his Saviour, and walk along with him to Eternity, notwithstanding his *Practice* or *Non-practice* of these *Indifferents*.

On the other side, if a Man fears not the Eternal God, dares commit any Sin with presumption, can drink excessively, swear vainly or falsely, commit Adultery, Lye, Cozen, Cheat, break his Promises, live loosely, though he practise every Ceremony never so curiously, or as stubbornly oppose them; though he cry down Bishops, or cry down Presbytery; though he be re-baptized every day, or though he disclaim against it as Heresie; though he

he Fast all the *Lent*, or Feasts out of pretence of avoiding Superstition, yet notwithstanding these, and a thousand more external Conformities, or zealous Oppositions of them, he wants the Life of Religion.

C H A P. III.

Of the Christian Religion, the Superstructures upon it, and Animosities about them.

TH E Christian Religion and Doctrine was by the Goodness and Wisdom of God designed to be the common means and method to bring Mankind to their Chief End, namely, to know, and to serve, and obey, and glorifie, and everlastinglly to enjoy Almighty God the Chiefest Good.

And to that end it was given out with all the Plainnes and Perspicuity, with all Evidence and certainty; a Doctrine and Religion containing Precepts of all Holines and Purity, of all Righteousnes and Honesty, of all Longanimity, Benignity, and Gentleness, Sweetnes, Meeknes, and Charity; of all Moderation and Patience, of all Sobriety and Temperance; in brief, it is a Religion that is admirably and sufficiently constituted to make a Man, what indeed he should be, Pious towards God, Just and Beneficent towards Men, and temperate in himself, fitted for a Life of Piety, Honesty, Justice, and Goodnes, and Happiness hereafter. Such is the Christian Religion, and such the Men must be that are truly conformable to it; and if any Man professing Christianity, be not such a Man, it is,

is because he comes so much short of his due Conformity to *Christian Religion*, and the most excellent Doctrine and Precepts thereof.

The Profession of this *Religion* is that which is, and for many Ages hath been, commonly made by a very considerable part of the known World, as the only true *Religion* given to the World by Almighty God, through his Son Jesus Christ, wherein and whereby they may expect everlasting Salvation.

But yet together with this *Christian Religion*, the Professors thereof have in several Ages and Places chosen to themselves various *adventitious accidental Superstructures, Additions, Opinions, Modes, and Practices*, which they have as it were incorporated into the *Christian Religion* by them professed or appended unto it.

And these Superstructures or Appendixes of *Christian Religion* have been introduced and entertained by various Means, and by various Designs, and to various Ends: Some by the Authority of great Names; some by insensible gradations or long Customs, some by a supposed congruity or incongruity; some for Order or Decency: Some for Discrimination of Parties; some for Political Ends, appearing in themselves, or secretly carried on; some upon emergent occasions; either continuing or now ceasing; some by Civil, some by Ecclesiastical Sanctions; some by traditional Observations, either continued, or interrupted and revived; some for Ornament; some for Use; some as supposed necessary consequents upon the Christian Doctrine, some to be, *quasi septa & munimenta doctrinae & religionis Evangelicae*, as the Jewish Traditions were supposed to be the *Sepimenta Legis*; some for one end, and some

some for another : And although these are not truly and essentially parts of the Christian Religion, yet as the humours in the Body are some good, some noxious, some innocent, though they are no part of the true vital Blood, yet they mingle with it, and run along in it; so these Superstrunctions, and Occasions, and Additions have in various Ages, Successions, and Places, mingled with the true radical vital Doctrine and Religion of Christ, in Mens Opinions, and Practices, and Professions.

And yet it is visible to any Man that will but attentively observe the Courses of Men professing *Christian Religion*, that the greatest fervour and animosity of the Professors of *Christian Religion* is not so much with respect to the Substantials of *Christian Religion*, either in things to be believed or practised, as touching these *Additions* and *Superstrunctions*; some as fervently contending for them, as if the Life of Christianity consisted in them, some as bitterly and severely contesting against them, as if the Life and Soul of *Christian Religion* were not possibly consisting with them.

And by these means these unhappy Consequences follow.

1. That whereas the main of *Christian Religion* consists in the true belief of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and the Practice of those Christian Virtues that he left unto his Disciples and Followers, both by his Example and Precept, namely, Love of God, Holiness and Purity of Life, Humility and Lowliness of Mind, Patience, Meekness, Gentleness, Charity, a low and easie value of the World, Contentation of Mind, submission to the Will of God, Dependance upon him, Resignation unto him, and other excellent Evangelical Virtues, that perfect

feet and rectifie the Soul, and fit it for an humble Communion with Almighty God in this Life, and a blessed fruition of his Presence in the Life to come; the Christian Religion is not so much placed in these, as in an entire *Conformity to Modes and Circumstances*, or an extream Aversion from them. And according to the various Interests or Inclinations of Parties, those are made the *Magnalia* of *Christian Religion*, and such as give the only Character or Discriminative Indication of the *Christian Religion*.

2. And consequently all the greatest part of that stress and *fervour of Mind*, which should be employed in those great weighty Substantials of Christianity, runs out and spends it self in those little Collaterals, and Superstructions, and Additaments, some placing the greatest earnestness and Intention, contention of Mind to have them, and some placing the Intention and fervour of their Mind to be without them, not unlike those old Contentions between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches touching the time of the Paschal Observation, one Party Excommunicating the other for their dissent, as if the whole weight and stress of the *Christian Religion* lay in those little Additaments.

3. And hereupon there arise Schisms, Factions, and Personal Animosities, Discrimination of Parties, Censoriousness, and studied estrangings of Professors of Christianity, oftentimes one Party declining those Practices which are good and commendable in the other, to keep their distances the more irreconcilable, and each Party espousing some odd Discriminating Habits, Modes; and sometimes also by Opinions in matters of Religion, that may estrange and discriminate them each from the other;

and

and these Opinions though of little moment or consequence (it may be whether true or false) are advanced up into little less than Articles of Faith, for the sake of this Discrimination, when possibly they are of little moment whether they be assented unto or not, of less certainty, and have little or no influence or concern in the Substance of Christian Doctrine.

4. And hereupon it oftentimes comes to pass, that not only the common Bond of Charity and Christian Love is broken between the Professors of the same substantials in Christianity, but there is most ordinarily much more *Severity*, and *Persecution*, and *Implacableness*, and *Irreconcilableness*, more endeavours to undermine, and supplant, and disgrace Dissenters, more scorns and vilifying, and reproach, and insolence one towards another in their vicissitudes of advantage, than there is between Professors of Christianity, and Men of the most loose and profane Lives, between Orthodox and Hereticks, nay between Christians and Turks or Infidels many times.

5. And from this there ariseth a most fruitful and a most inevitable increase of Atheism and contempt of Religion, in many of the Spectators of this Game among Professors of the Christian Religion, and that upon these two Accounts: Principally, because when they hear each Party declare (as they must if they declare truth) in their Sermons and Writings, that the Doctrine of Christianity enjoyns *Mutual Love*, *Condescension*, *Charity*, *Gentleness*, *Meekness*, and yet so little practised by Dissenting Parties, Men are apt to conclude, that either these Persons do not believe what they pretend to Preach and Publish, or that the

the Doctrine of Christianity was a Notion and Speculation, and never intended as a necessary Rule of Practice, since the greatest Pretenders to the Religion of Christ, practise so little of it.

2. Because when Men see that those little Superstructures and Additions are by the one side *Prosecuted*, and on the other side *decryed*, with as much Animosity, Fervour and Severities, as the most weighty and important Truths and Precepts of Evangelical Faith and Obedience, Spectators and By-standers think that they are all of the same value; and when they see that these things which every sober considerate Man must needs conclude little, and of no moment, are rated at so great a value by the contesting Parties of each side, Truths then are doubted of in relation to these: It makes Men call in question great matters, when they see such small things pursued or declined with no less Fervour and Animosity than if they were of the greatest.

And considering these unhappy Consequences of these Fervours of Minds touching these small Appendixes and Superstructures, even more than about, or concerning the very weighty things of the Gospel, I have endeavoured to search out the Reason how this strong Distemper comes to pass; and there seems to be these Causes thereof.

1. Ordinarily a Man is more fond of and concerned for something that is *his own*, than for that which is of God; as we are transported with a love to our *selves*, so we are transported with a love and admiration of what is *our own*: And hence it is that the weightier and more important Duties enjoyned by Christ, partake less of our Zeal, or Courage, or Intention of Mind, than our *own little Fancies and Intentions*.

2. Pride,

2. *Pride, Credit, and Reputation,* are commonly ingaged in either Party in the things contested, when they are once contested; and these are violent and pressing Interests and Motions.

3. The *Plainest Truth and Purity of Religion* is a thing that seldom *pleaseth and suiteth to the Curiosity and Appetite of Men;* they are always fond of something Annexed or Appendicated to Religion to make it pleasing to their Appetite. A certain Sawce that may entertain their Fancy, after which it may run, and wherein it may please it self. And these Sawces to Religion are various, and variously pleasing, according to the various Inclinations of Men: Most ordinarily the Fancies of Men affect some things Splendid and Sensible to be Superadded to Religion; the *Israelites* would needs have Gods that might go before them; and in complyance with this Humour, most of the Strange Modes and Gestulations among the Heathens, and most of the Superstitions, Ceremonies and Rites among the Papists, were invented.

Again, sometimes the Humour of the People runs in the other Extreme, either they will have nothing of Form or Order, or all such Forms or Orders as are extremely opposite to what others use, and place their Delight and Complacency therein: And by this means oftentimes it comes to pass, that Men are carried with greater earnestnes and vehemence after those *Placentia*, the entertainments of their Fancies, than to the true Substance of Religion it self.

4. Oftentimes it comes to pass that there are two very *jealous Concerns,* and impatient of any Corrival, that are ingaged each against other in these different and dissenting Practices, relating to.

to Collaterals in Religion : on the one side, *Power and Authority* is very tender of its own Interest, and jealous of a Competitor or Rival : On the other side, *Conscience* and *Perswasion* either of the *Necessity* or unlawfulness of any thing, is very jealous, or fearful, and suspicious of any thing that might injure it : And whether the Conscience be mistaken or not, yet so long as its Perswasion, that is entertained *sub ratione conscientiae*, prevails, this jealousy will still prevail in the Mind ; and it many times falls out that *Authority* on the one hand is impatient, or at least jealous of Opposition, and *Conscience* on the other hand restless and unquiet.

5. And the difficulty is so much the greater, because each seems to derive their obliging Authority from God ; the Magistrate recognizing God Almighty as the Fountain, Root, and Foundation of his Power ; and the Conscience supposed to be the Vicegerent of God in the Soul.

6. But that which admirably keeps up these differences, is that Men on each side deal not one with another *calmly, mildly*, or upon the Reasons of the things, or upon a true way of Reasoning, Debating, and Arguing of things, or prudent Considerations that might invite yielding on the one side, or accommodations of the other, but each Party takes in all those Contributions, Assurances, and Advantages, that commonly accompany the worst of Contentions.

For instance, 1. Extremity of Passion and Indignation, 2. Violence and Bitterness of Writings and Speeches. 3. Each Party rendering the other as odious and ridiculous as is possible: 4. Scoffing, jeering, and Personal Reflections : 5. Artifices and Designs each to catch and undermine the other :

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6. An industrious and willing mis-interpretation of each others Words, Writings, and Actions, and raising them to odious Inferences and Consequences, beyond what they were meant, or really and truly bear: - 7. Disingenuous Quotations out of each other, without those ordinary Remedies that might be allowed by comparing of other parts of their Writings.

These and the like Auxiliaries are on each part taken into these Visitations between Christians, and in relation to things contended for or against in these Differences; whereas the whole tenour of the Doctrine of Christianity, as it was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, decries nothing more than Anger, Wrath, Malice, Railing, Evil-speaking, Backbiting, Slanders, Reproaches, Names and Epithets or Scorns, Craft, and Subtilty; yet all these black Legions are called, used, and employed in the management of that Cause, which each Party pretends to be the Cause of Christ; as if Fiends, and Furies, and Legions of Devils were thought fit Auxiliaries on each Party, wherein both pretend the Interest of Christ Jesus.

And that this is so, let any Man but read those Books which have flown abroad from either Party, he will find it evident in all the Contentions of this nature: Witness on the one part *Martin Mar-Prelate*, the *Odious Centuries* put out by Mr. White in the beginning of the Long Parliament; the frequent Invectives and odious Epithets given to the Liturgy, to the Bishops, Conforming Ministers, and to the Church of England it self, as Antichristian, Idolatrous, *Babylonish*, and a thousand such Names and Stiles.

And on the other side there have been many that have not been behind hand with bitter Invectives,
Scornful

Scornful and mocking Expressions and Appellations, odious Reflections, unnecessary to be repeated. By all which these two things are evident.

1. That these Transports of either side come not from that Spirit which Christ brought with him into the World, and which he commanded and left to his Disciples and Followers: namely, a Spirit of Love, of Charity, of Gentleness, Patience, Kindness, and Sweetness of Disposition.

2. That if Men go about to justify this, because first provoked by the adverse Party, and so to justify it by the Law of Taliation, these Men do not remember, that as on the one hand the Duty of Christians is Self denial, Moderation, and Peaceableness; on the other side, that a Spirit of Revenge, an Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth, is as much against the Doctrine of Christ, as any thing in the World.

Therefore certainly it becomes those of either Party either to cashier these black Auxiliaries of their Wars, and Contentions of this kind, or otherwise for the sake and honour of Christ and the Christian Religion, plainly declare that he is not concerned in the Contest, but that the Contest is a Contest of Interest and Vain-Glory, of Pride and Ambition, and Reputation, and desire of Victory: Or if they will not declare so much to the World, yet they must give leave to the Spectators to judge of it so.

Now these bitternesses and virulentnesses of either side, have been commonly of two kinds: First, such as reflect, if not altogether, yet most of all, upon the Persons of their Adversaries: 2. Or such as reflect only upon the Matters in difference between them: both were bad enough, and such as serve to make the Differences and Breaches wider.

But of late times, I know not by what unhappy Star, there hath prevailed more than formerly, certain Invectives that have gone much farther, even to the rendering of *Religion it self*, and *Scripture Expressions* ridiculous, and pieces of raillery; and I could have wished that some late Books, put out under the fashion of *Dialogues*, and some other Books of that kind, had not been too Guilty of this fault.

I do remember when Ben. Johnson made his Play of the Alchymist, wherein he brings in *Anartas* in derision of the Persons then called *Puritans*, with many of their Phrases in use among them, taken out of the Scriptures, with a design to render that sort of Persons ridiculous, and to gain applause to his Wit and Fancy. But although those Persons were not in very good esteem among the Great Ones and Gallants, yet the Play was disliked, and indeed abhorred, because it seemed to reproach Religion it self, though intended only to render the Puritans ridiculous. That which was uncomely and unseemly in a Poet, who made it his busines to make Plays, certainly is much more fulsom and unsavory in another; especially if the Author be a *Clergy-man*, as I suppose he is: For of all Men in the World it becomes such *prospicere honori Religionis Christianæ*, and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible, by raillery and scurrilous jesting.

And yet I do not find in all Ben. Johnson's *Alchymist* one half of those ridiculous and unseemly Repetitions of Scripture Phrases and Expressions, as well as mimical imitations and disdainful mockings of those Persons, and that Party whom he designs to disparage: Scarce a Page but some unhandsome mention of the *Spirit*, and *Christ* and *Grace*, and *Saints*, and some Scripture Expressions: And if it shall

shall be said that he doth it but only in exprobation of such Persons as abused or misapplyed such expressions, and it is not with intent to reproach the Scripture or those Phrases that are desumed from it, but to shew the boldness and mistakes of them that have misapplied or abused them.

I answer, 1. That these Misapplications and inconsiderate Uses of Scripture Phrases by them, though it be justly reproveable, yet it is far more intollerable in him. Though their mistakes were weak and foolish, yet they were *serious* in those very mistakes; but this Man industriously and designedly makes the *Expression ridiculous* and contemptible: 2. Their Abuses of Scriptures and Scripture Phrases will not at all justifie the like in him, though in another kind, and to another end, he might have learned to have avoided the folly and inconsideratenes of the others, and not have multiplied it in himself by a worse Method of Abuse.

Certainly, whoever he was that made these *Conferences*, I dare say he had no such Patern of writing from the Apostles or Fathers. The nearest Copy that I know of it, is the *A*— and though he seems a Man of Wit and Learning, and possibly would be some body in the World, I dare say they that cherish him in the main of his design are ashamed of his Scurrility, and wish it had been spared, and so perchance may he be when more Years have better consideration. The mischiefs that come by this manner of writing are very great and many.

1, First it makes Differences irreconciable. When Differences Civil or Ecclesiastical in Judgment or Practice happen, gentleness, softness, mildness, and personal respectfulness quiet the Passions and Spirits of the adverse Party, gain upon him, get

within him; and when the Person is thus won, and over-match'd with Sweetness and Kindness, and personal Jealousies and Prejudices removed, Perswasions, and Arguments grow prevalent, come with their full weight, are entertained calmly, and considerately, and insensibly gain ground even upon the Judgment: But I yet never knew any Man converted by an angry, passionate, railing Adversary, for such kind of behaviour presently raiseth in the Adversary the like Passions and Prejudice, and makes the Distance greater; and the Passions being ingaged in the Quarrel, the Judgments of both sides are lost, or blinded, or silenced with the dust and noise of passionate digladiations; and indeed considering how apparently and evidently such kind of dealing between Dissenters, renders composure almost impossible; and yet observing how much this course of reviling, and opprobrious, and unmanly as well as unchristian Language, is in practise, I thought that it hath been a real design to render each Party odious and irreconcilable to the other, and the hopes of composure desperate: For who can ever expect that any Man, or any sort of Men, should be drawn over to that Party that shall publickly stile him *Brain sick*, a *Fool*, *silly*, *Hypocrite*, *Fanatick*, and a hundred such scornful Appellations; or that Men will be easily drawn to relinquish those Opinions or Perswasions when they must thereby in effect subscribe to such Epithetes and Appellations before all the World; and of all things in the World Men can with the least patience bear reflection upon their intellectuals, and are most irreconcilable to them that traduce or abuse them therein.

2. It greatly disadvantageth the Cause, as well as the Persons of those that use this method amongst sober

sober indifferent Observers, who will be ready to conclude them a parcel of People transported by Passions, weak, and prejudicated; and look upon such a Cause as is maintained by railing, scoffing, Raillery and unproved Calumnies, as weak, and standing in need of such rudenesses to support and maintain it.

3. It expositeth Religion it self to the derision of Atheists, and confirms them in their Atheism, and gains them too many Proselytes; and that principally upon these Reasons. 1. Because they find that Clergy-men do tell them in the Pulpits, that Christ himself and his Apostles condemned railing, scandalous Appellations, as *Rasha*, and *Fool*; *Evil-speaking*, *folish jesting*, *Mocking*, *Reviling*; this they tell Men, and they tell them truly, and yet these very Men that call themselves Ministers of Christ, Messengers of the Gospel of Peace, take that admirable liberty of reproaching, scoffing, and deriding one another in their publick Pamphlets and Discourses; that can scarce be exampled among the most invective Ranks of Persons, whose trade it is to be Satirical, and render People ridiculous: Nay so far hath this Excellent manage prevail'd among Clergy-men, that their Scoffs and Reproaches are not levelled at the Persons, or Personal Defects of Dissenters, but rather than want supports for their Party, will have ugly flings at Religion it self, at Scripture Expressions; and when Men see such a course of Practice among the Preachers and Clergy-men, they are ready to conclude, that surely they believe not themselves what they Preach to others; therefore think they have a fair pretence not to believe them.

2. But principally these great Animosities and Transports of Dissenting Clergy-men, confirms and

promotes Atheism, upon this account that the things about which this wonderful hate is strucken between these Parties, are such as both Parties agree to be none of the Fundamentals of the Religion professed by both, but Accessaries and Accessions, and such indeed as By-standers think are of very small moment; and yet when Men see so much heat and passion, so much fervour and contention, such reproaches and revilings, such *exasperations* of *Authority* on either Party, such mutual Prosecutions one of another, that more could not possibly be done between Dissenters in those points which both agree to be Fundamental. Atheistical Spirits are apt to conclude, that probably those points, that both sides supposed to be of greater moment, are *eiusdem farinae*, with those in Contest, since they are not, nor cannot be prosecuted with greater fervour, than these, which all Men take to be small and inconsiderable, and that it is Interest, Vain-Glory, and Applause, or some other Temporal Concern, that gives this Fervour and Zeal in Matters of Religion, more than the true Concerns of it self. The Conclusion therefore is, That Men for their own sakes, and for the sake and honour of the Christian Religion, would use more Temperance, Prudence, and Moderation, in Contests about Circumstantials.

The

The Author's First Epistle to his Children.

Dear Children.

I Intended to have been at Alderley this Whitsontide, desirous to renew those Counsels and Advices which I have often given you, in order to your Greatest Concernment; namely, the everlasting Good and Welfare of your Souls hereafter, and the due ordering of your Lives and Conversations here.

And although young People are apt, through their own Indiscretion, or the ill Advice of others, to think these kind of Entertainments but dry and empty matters, and the Morose and needless Interpositions of Old Men: yet give him leave to tell you, that very well knows what he says, These things are of more Importance and Concernment to you, than External Gifts and Bounties (wherein) nevertheless I have not been wanting to you, according to my Ability.

This was my Intention, in this Journey: and tho' I have been disappointed therein, yet I thought good, by Letters and Messages, to do something that might be done that way for your Benefit, that I had otherwise intended to have done in Person.

Assure your selves therefore, and believe it from one that knows what he says; from one that can neither have any reason, or end, to deceive you; That the best Gift I can give you is good Counsel; and the best Counsel I can give you, is, that which relates to your greatest Import and concernment; namely, Religion.

And

And therefore since I cannot at this time deliver it to you in Person, I shall do it by this Letter; wherein I shall not be very large, but keep my self within the bounds proper for a Letter; and to those things only at this time, which may be most of present use and moment to you: And by your due observance of these Directions, I shall have a good Character, both of your Dutifulness to God, your Obedience to your Father, and also of your Discretion and Prudence: For it is most certain, that as Religion is the best Means to advance and certifie Humane Nature; so no Man shall be either Truly Wise, or Truly Happy without it, and the Love of it, no not in this Life, much less in that which is to come.

First; Therefore every Morning and every Evening, upon your Knees, humbly Command your selves to Almighty God in Prayer, begging his Mercy to pardon your Sins; his Grace to direct you; his Providence to protect you; Returning him humble Thanks for all his Dispensations toward you, yea, even for his very Corrections and Affliction; intreating him to give you Wisdom and Grace, to make a Sober, Patient, Humble, Profitable Use of them; and, in his due time, to deliver you from them. Concluding your Prayers with the Lord's Prayer. This will be a certain means to bring your Mind into a right Frame; to procure you Comfort and Blessing, and to prevent Thousands of Inconveniences and Mischiefs, to which you will be otherwise subjected.

Secondly,

Secondly, Every Morning read Seriously and Reverently a portion of the Holy Scripture, and acquaint your self with the History and Doctrine thereof: It is a Book full of Light and Wisdom, will make you Wise to Eternal Life, and furnish you with Directions and Principles, to guide and order your Life safely and prudently.

Thirdly, Conclude every Evening with Reading some part of the Scripture and Prayer in your Family.

Fourthly, Be strict and Religious Observers of the Lord's Day; resort to your Parish-Church Twice that Day, if your Health will permit, and Attend Diligently and Reverently to the Publick Prayers and Sermon: He cannot reasonably expect a Blessing from God the rest of the Week, that neglects his Duty to God, in the due Consecration of this Day to the special Service and Duty to God, which this Day requires.

Fifthly, Receive the Sacrament at least Three times in the Year, and oftner, as there is occasion, in your Parish-Church. The Laws of the Land require this, and the Law of your Saviour requires it, and the Law of Duty and Gratitude require it of you. Prepare your selves seriously for this Service before hand, and perform it with Reverence and Thankfulness: The neglect of this Duty procures great Inconvenience and Strangeness: And commonly the neglect hereof ariseth from some Conceited Opinion, that People incon-

inconsiderately take up; but most ordinarily from a sluggishness of Mind, and an Unwillingness to fit and prepare the Mind for it; or to leave some Sinful or Vain Course, that Men are not willing to leave, and yet condemn themselves in the Practice of it.

Sixtly, Beware of those that go about to Seduce you from that Religion wherein you have been brought up hitherto; namely, the true Protestant Religion: It is not unknown to any that observes the State of Things in the World, how many Erroneous Religions are scattered abroad in the World; and, how Industrious Men of False Perswasions are to make Profelytes. There are *Antinomians*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, and divers others that go about to Mislead themselves, and others: Nay, although the Laws of this Kingdom, and especially the Statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 1. have Inflicted the severest Penalty upon those that go about to withdraw Persons to the *Romish* Religion, from the Religion Established in *England*, as any Man that Reads that Statute may find; yet there are scattered up and down the World divers Factors and Agents, that under several Disguises and Pretences, endeavour the Perverting of Weak and Easie, Persons: Take heed of all such Perswaders. And that you may know and observe the better, you shall ever find these Artifices practised by them.

1. They will use all flattering Applications, and Insinuations to be Master of your Humour, and when they have gotten that advantage, they that seemed before to serve you, will then Command you.

2. They

2. They will use all possible skill to raise in you Jealousie and Dislike towards those that may otherwise Continue, and keep you in the Truth ; as to raise Dislike in you against your Minister ; nay, rather than fail, to raise Dissention among Relations ; yea, to cast Jealousies and Surmises among them, if it may be Instrumental to Corrupt them.

3. They will endeavour to withdraw People from the Publick Ministry of God's Word, encourage Men to slight and neglēt it : And when they have once effected this, they have a fair opportunity to Infuse their own Corrupt Principles.

4. They will engage you, by some means or other, to them ; either by some real, but most ordinarily by some pretended Kindness, or Familiarity ; that, in a little time, you shal! not dare to displease them ; you must do and speak what they will have you, because some way or other you are Intangled with them, or Ingaged to them : And then they become your Governours, and you will not dare to contradict, or disobey them.

These are some of those Artifices whereby Crafty and Subtile Seducers gain Proselytes, and bring Men under Captivity.

Severnly, Be very careful to Moderate your Passions, especially of Choler and Anger ; it enflames the Blood, disorders the Brain, and, for the time

time exterminates not only Religion, but common Reason: It puts the Mind into Confusion, and throws Wild-fire into the Tongue, whereby Men give others advantage against them; it renders a Man incapable of doing his Duty to God, and puts a Man upon Acts of Violence, Unrighteousness, and Injustice to Men: Therefore keep your Passions under Discipline, and under as strict a Chain as you would keep an Unruly Curst M. stiff: Look to it, that you give it not too much, Line at first. But if it hath gotten any Fire within you, quench it presently, with con sideration; and let it not break out into Passionate, or Unruly Words or Actions: But, whatever you do, let it not Gangrene into Malice, Envy, or spight.

Eighthly, Send your Children early to learn their Catechism, that they may take in the True Principles of Religion betimes, which may grow up with them, and habituate them both to the Knowledge and Practice of it: That they may escape the danger of Corruption by Error or Vice: being antecedently seasoned with better Principles.

Ninthly, Receive the Blessings of God with very much Thankfulness to him; for he is the Root and Fountain of all the Good you do, or can receive.

Tenthly, Bear all Afflictions and Crosses Patiently, it is your Duty, for Afflictions come not from the Dust. The Great God of Heaven and Earth is he that sends these Messengers to you, though

though possibly evil Occurrences may be the immediate Instruments of them : You owe to Almighty God an infinite Subjection and Obedience, and to Expostulate with him is Rebellion : And as it is your Duty, so it is your Wisdom and your Prudence ; Impatience will not discharge your Yoke, but it will make it gall the worse, and sit the harder.

Eleventhly, Learn not only Patience under your Afflictions, but also profitably to improve them to your Soul's good : Learn by them how vain and unprofitable things the World, and all the Pleasures thereof are, that a sharp, or a lingering Sickness renders utterly tasteless. Learn how vain and weak a thing Humane Nature is, which is pulled down to the Gates of Death, and Cloathed with Rottenness and Corruption, by a little disorder in the Blood, in a Nerve, in a Vein, in an Artery. And since we have so little hold of a Temporal Life, which is shaken and shatter'd by any small Occurrence, Accident, or Distemper : Learn to lay hold of Eternal Life, and of that Covenant of Peace and Salvation, which Christ hath brought for all that believe and obey the Gospel of Peace and Salvation : There shall be no Death, no Sickness, no Pain, no Weakness, but a State of Unchangeable, and Everlasting Happiness. And if you thus improve Affliction, you are Gainers by it ; and most certain it is, that there is no more probable way under Heaven to be delivered from Affliction (if the Wise God see it fit) than thus to improve it. For Affliction is a Messenger ; and the Rod hath a Voice; and that is, to require Mankind to be
the

' the more Patient, and the more Humble, and the
 ' mote to acknowledge Almighty God in all our
 ' ways: And if Men listen to this Voice of the
 ' Rod, and conform to it, the Rod hath done his
 ' Errand; and either will leave a Man, or at least
 ' give a Man singular Comfort, even under the
 ' sharpest Affliction. And this *Affliction which is*
 ' but for a moment, thus Improved, will work for
 ' us an exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.

' Twelftly, Reverence your Minister: he is a Wise
 ' and a Good Man, and one that Loves you, and
 ' hath a tender Care and Respect for you: Do
 ' not grieve him, either by Neglect, or Disrepect.
 ' Assure your selves, if there be any Person that
 ' sets any of you against him, or provokes, or in-
 ' courageth any of you to despise, or neglect him;
 ' That Person, whoever he be, loves not you, nor
 ' the Office he bears. And therefore as the Laws
 ' of the Land; and the Divine Providence, hath
 ' placed him at Alderley, to have a Care of your
 ' Souls; so I must tell you I do expect, you should
 ' Reverence and Honour him for his own, for your,
 ' and for his Office-sake.

' And now I have written this long *Epistle* to
 ' you, to perform that Office for me, that I should
 ' have done in Person, if I could have taken this
 ' Journey. The *Epistle* is long, but it had been
 ' longer if I had had more time. And though
 ' perchance some there may be in the World, that
 ' when they hear of it, will interpret it to be but
 ' the Excursions and Morose Rules of Old Age,
 ' unnecessary, and such as might have been spared;
 ' yet I am perswaded, 'twill find better Acceptati-
 ' on

' on thereof from you that are my Children. I
' am now on the shady-side of Threescore Years :
' I Write to you, what you have often heard me
' in Substance Speak ; and possibly when I shall
' leave this World, you will want such a Remem-
' bancer as I have been to you. The Words that
' I now, and at former times have Written to you,
' are Words of Truth and Sobernels ; and Words
' and Advices that proceed from a Heart full of
' Love and Affection to you all. If I should see
' you do amiss in any thing, and should not Re-
' prove you ; or if I should find you want Counsel
' and Direction, and should not give it, I should
' not perform the Trust of a Father ; and if you
' should not Thankfully receive it, you would be
' somewhat defective in the Duty you owe to God
' and Me, as Children. As I have never spared
' my Purse to Supply you, according to my Abili-
ties, and the Reasonableness of occasions ; so I
' have never been wanting to you in good and pru-
' dent Counsels ; And the God of Heaven give
' you Wisdom, Constancy, and Fidelity in the
' observance of them. I am

29 May.

Your Ever Loving Father,

Matthew Hale.

S

The

The Author's Second Epistle to his Children.

Concerning their S P E E C H.

Children,

I Thank God I came well to *Farrington* this Saturday about Five of the Clock, and because I have some leisure time at my Inn, I could not spend that time more to my own Contentment, and your Benefit, than by my Letter to give you all good Counsel: The Subject whereof at this time shall be concerning Speech, because much of the good or evil that befalls persons, doth occasionally happen by the well or ill managing of that part of humane Conversation: I shall as I have leisure and opportunity at other times give you my Directions concerning other Subjects.

And herein I shall advise you First, how you are to entertain the Speeches of others, according to the divers varieties thereof: Secondly, how you are to manage and order your own Speech.

First, As concerning the former, observe these Directions: 1. Observe and mark as well as you may, what is the temper and disposition of those persons, whose Speeches you hear, whether they be grave, serious, sober, wise, discreet persons, if they be such, their Speeches commonly are like themselves, and will deserve your Attention and Observation. But if they be light, impertinent, vain, passionate persons, their Speech is for the most part according, and the best advantage that you

you will gain by their Speech, is but thereby to learn their dispositions, to discern their failings, and to make your selves the more cautious both in your conversation with them, and in your own Speech and deportment, for in the unseemliness of their Speech, you may better discern and avoid the like in your selves.

2. If any person, that you do not very well know to be a person of truth, sobriety and weight, relate strange Stories, be not too ready or easie to believe them, nor report them after him: And yet (unless he be one of your familiar acquaintance) be not too forward to Contradict him; or if the necessity of the occasion require you to declare your opinion of what is so reported, let it be modestly and gently, not too bluntly or coursely; by this means, on the one side you shall avoid being abused by your too much credulity; on the other side you shall avoid quarrels and distaste.

3. If any man speak any thing to the disadvantage or reproach of one that is absent, be not too ready to believe it, only observe and remember it, for it may be it is not true, or it is not all true, or some other circumstances were iningled with it, which might give the busines reported a justification, or at least an allay, an extenuation or a reasonable excuse: In most Actions, if that which is bad a-lone, or seems to be so, be reported, omitting that which is good, or the circumstances that accompany it, any Action may be easily misrepresented; be not too hasty therefore to believe a reproach, 'till you know the truth, and the whole truth.

4. If any person report unto you some injury done to you by another, either in words or deeds,

do not be over hasty in believing it, nor suddenly angry with the person so accused; for possibly it may be false or mistaken, and how unseemly a thing will it be, when your credulity and passion, shall perchance carry you upon a supposed injury to do wrong to him that hath done you none; or at least, when the bottom and truth of the accusation is known, you will be ashame'd of your passion; believe not a report, 'till the party accused be heard; and if the report be true, yet be not transported either with passion, hasty anger or revenge, for that will be your own torment and perturbation: Ever when a person is accused or reported to have injur'd you, before you give your self leave to be angry, think with your self, why should I be angry before I am certain it is true? Or if it be true, how can I tell how much I should be angry 'till I know the whole matter? Though it may be he hath done me wrong, yet possibly it is not so much as it is represented, or it was done by mistake, or it may be he is sorry for it: I will not be angry 'till I know there be cause, and if there be cause, yet I will not be angry 'till I know the whole cause, for 'till then, (if I must be angry at all) yet I know not how much to be angry, it may be it is not worth my anger, or if it be, it may be it deserves but a little. This will keep your Mind and Carriage upon such occasions in a due temper and order; and will disappoint Malicious or Officious Tale bearers.

5. If a man whose integrity you do not very well know, makes you great and extraordinary professions and promises, give him as kind thanks as may be, but give not much Credit to it: Cast about with your self what may be the reason of this

this wonderful kindness, it is twenty to one but you will find something that he aims at, besides kindness to you : It may be he hath something to beg or buy of you, or to sell to you, or some such bargain that speaks out at last his own advantage, and not yours: And if he serve his turn upon you, or if he be disappointed, his kindness will grow cool.

6. If a man Flatter and Commend you to your face or to one that he thinks will tell you of it ; it is a thousand to one, either he hath deceived and abused you some way, or means to do so : Remember the Fable of the Fox, commanding the Singing of the Crow, when she had somewhat in her mouth that the Fox liked.

7. If a person be Cholerick, Passionate, and give you ill Language, remember, 1. Rather to pity him, than to be mov'd into anger and passion with him , for most certainly that man is in a distemper and disorder, observe him Calmly and you shall see in him so much perturbation and disturbance, that you will easily believe he is not a pattern to be imitated by you, and therefore return not Choler, nor Anger, for angry words ; for you do but put your self into a kind of frenzy, because you see him so: 2. Be sure you return not railing reproaching, or reviling for reviling, for it doth but kindle more heat, and you will find silence, or at least very gentle words , the most Exquisite Revenge of Reproaches that can be , for either it will cure the distemper in the other, and make him see and be sorry for his passion, or it will torment him with more perturbation and disturbance. But howsoever it keeps your innocence, gives you a deserved reputation of Wisdom and Moderation.

and keeps up the Serenity and Composure of your Mind : Whereas passion and anger do make a man unfit for any thing that becomes him as a Man, or as a Christian.

8. Some men are excellent in knowledge of Husbandry, some of Planting, some of Gardening, some in the Mathematicks, some in one kind, some in another : In all your Conversation, learn as near as you can wherein the skill and excellency of any person lies, and put him upon talk of that Subject, and observe it, and keep it in Memory or Writing ; by this means you will glean up the worth and excellency of every person you meet with, and at an easie rate put together that which may be for your use upon all occasions.

9. Converse not with a lyer or a swearer, or a man of obscene or wanton Language ; for either he will corrupt you, or at least it will hazard your Reputation to be one of the like making : And if it doth neither, yet it will fill your memory with such discourses, that will be troublesome to you in aftertime, and the returns of the remembrance of the passages which you long since heard of this nature will haunt you when your thoughts should be better employed.

II. Now as concerning your own Speech, and how you are to manage it; something may be Collected out of what goes before, but I shall add some things else.

1. Let your Speech be true, never speak any thing for a truth, which you know or believe to be false : It is a great sin against God, that gave you a Tongue to speak your mind, and not to speak a lye : It is a great offence against humanity it self, for where there is no truth, there can be no safe society between man and man : And it is an injury

injury to the speaker, for besides the base disreputation it casts upon him it doth in time bring a man to that baseness of mind, that he can scarce tell how to tell truth or to avoid lying, even when he hath no colour of necessity for it; and in time he comes to such a pass, that as another man cannot believe he tells a truth, so he himself scarce knows when he tells a lye: And observe it, a lye ever returns with discovery and shame at the last.

2. As you must be careful not to lye, so you must avoid coming near it, you must not Equivocate, you must not speak that absolutely which you have but by hear-say or relation, you must not speak that as upon knowledge, which you have but by conjecture or opinion only.

3. Let your words be few, especially when your betters, or strangers, or men of more experience, or understanding, are in place, for you do your self at once two great mischiefs: 1. You betray and discover your own weakness and folly: 2. You rob your self of that opportunity which you might otherwise have to gain Knowledge, Wisdom, and Experience, by hearing those that you silence by your impertinent talking.

4. Be not over-earnest, lowd, or violent in talking, for it is unseemly, and earnest and lowd talking make you over shoot and lose your busines; when you should be considering and pondering your thoughts, and how to express them significantly, and to the purpose, you are striving to keep your Tongue going, and to silence an opponent, not with reason, but with noise.

5. Be careful not to interrupt another in his talk, hear him out, you will understand him the better, and be able to give him the better answer, it may be if you will give him leave he will say somewhat

what more than you have yet heard, or well understood, or that which you did not expect.

6. Always before you speak, especially where the busines is of moment, consider before hand, weigh the fence of your mind which you intend to utter; think upon the expressions you intend to use, that they be significant, pertinent and unoffensive; and whereas it is the ordinary course of inconsideate persons to speak their words, and then to think, or not to think till they speak, think first and speak afre, if it be in any matter of moment or seriousness.

7. Be willing to speak well of the absent, if you do not know they deserve ill: By this means you shall make your self many friends, and sometimes an undeserved Commendation, is not lost to the Party to whom it is given, I have known some men that have met with an undeserved Commendation, out of shame of being worse than they have been reported, secretly to take up practises and answerable to their Commendation, and so to make themselves as good as they are reported.

8. Be sure you give not an ill report to any that you are not ture deserves it: And in most Cases though a man deserves ill, yet you should be sparing to report him so; in some Cases indeed you are bound, in Honesty and Justice, to give that account concerning the demerit or default of a person that he deserves; as namely, when you are called to give Testimony for the ending of a Controversie, or when the Concealing of it may harden and Encourage a person in an evil way, or bring another into danger; in such Cases the very duty of Charity binds you to speak your knowledge, nay
your

your probable fear or suspicion of such a person, so it be done for prevention of greater inconvenience, and in love, and especially if the discovery be made to a person that hath a superintendance, Care or Authority over the person complained of; for this is an Act of Love and Duty. But for any person, maliciously, busily, and with intent to scandalize another, to be whispering Tales and Stories to the prejudice of another, this is a fault: If you know any good of any person, speak it as you have opportunity; if you know any evil, speak it, if it be really and prudently done for the good of him, and the safety of others; otherwise rather chuse to say nothing, than to say any thing Reproachfully, Maliciously, or Officiously, to his Prejudice.

9. Avoid Swearing in your ordinary Communication, unless called to it by the Magistrate, and not only the grosser Oaths, but the lesser; and not only Oaths, but imprecations, earnest and deep protestations: As you have the commendable Example of good men to justify a solemn Oath before a Magistrate, so you have the Precept of our Saviour forbidding it otherwise.

10. Avoid scoffing, and bitter, and biting jeering, and jesting, especially at your friends Condition, credit, deformity or natural defects of any person, for these leave a deep impression, and are a most apparent injustice; for were you so used, you would take it inwardly and amiss, and many times such an injury costs a man dear, when he little thinks of it.

11. Be very carefull, that you give no Reproachfull, Bitter, Menacing or Spightful words to any person, nay not to Servants, or other persons

of

of an inferiour Condition, and that upon these considerations: 1. There is not the meanest person but you may stand in need of him in one kind, or at some time or another, good words make friends, bad words make Enemies, it is the best prudence in the World to make as many friends as honestly you can, especially when it may be done at so easie rate as a good word, and it is the greatest folly that can be to make an Enemy by ill words, which do not at all any good to the party that useth them: 2. Ill words provoke ill words again, and commonly such ill words as are gained by such a provocation, especially of an inferiour, stick closer, and wound deeper, than such as come unprovoked by ill Language, or from an equal: 3. Where faults are committed, they may and by a superior must be reproved, but let it be done without Reproaches, or Bitterness, otherwise it loseth its due end and use, and instead of reforming the offence, exasperates the offender, and makes him worse, and gives him the Cudgel to strike again, because it discovers your own weaknes; when you are reprehending another, and lays you justly open to his reproof, and makes your own but scorned and disesteemed: I press this the rather, because most ordinarily ill Language is the folly of Children, and of weak and passionate people.

12. If there be occasion for you to speak in any Company, always be careful if you speak at all, to speak latest, especially if Strangers are in Company, for by this means you will have the advantage of knowing the fence, judgment, temper, and relations of others which may be a great light and help to you in ordering your Speech, and you will better know the Inclination of the Company, and speak with more advantage and acceptation,

tation, and with more security against giving offence.

13. Be careful that you commend not your selves, it is the most unuseful and ungrateful thing that can be; You should avoid Flattery from others, but especially decline flattering of your selves it is a sign your Reputation is small and sinking, if your own Tongues must be your Flatterers or Commenders, and it is a fulsome and unpleasing thing for others to hear it.

14. Abhor all foul, unclean and obscene Speeches, it is a sign that the heart is Corrupt, and such kind of Speeches will make it worse, it will Taint and Corrupt your selves and those that hear it, and brings disreputation to those that use it.

15. Never use any profane Speeches, nor make Jests of Scripture-expressions; when you use the names of God or of Christ, or any passages or words of the holy Scripture, use them with Reverence and Seriousness, and not Lightly, Vainly, or Scurrilously, for it is a taking of the name of God in vain.

16. If you hear of any unseemly Expressions used in Religious Exercises, you must be careful to forget and not to publish them, or if you at all mention them, let it be with pity and sorrow, not with Derision or Reproach.

17. Do not upbraid any, or deride any man for a pious, strict, or religious Conversation; for if he be sincere, you dishonour God and injure him: If he be an Hypocrite, yet it is more than you know, or if you know him to be such, yet his external Piety and Strictness is not his fault, but his Dissimulation and Hypocrisy, and though his Hypocrisy be to be detested, his external Piety and Religion is to be Commended, not Derided.

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18. Have as little conversation as is possible with obstinate Hereticks, or persons obstinately perverted in matters of Religion, as Papists, Quakers, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Enthusiasts, and the like: But especially converse not with them in matters of Religion; for instead of Converting them by your persuasions to the truth, you shall but harden them the more, and endanger your self: They are to be dealt withal in these matters, only by persons of great Abilities: For a Perverted, Corrupted mind, an Obstinate Spirit, carries in it a Contagion, as infectious and much more dangerous than the Plague in the Body, where their opinions meet with a young and weak opponent.

And thus, Children, as the time and my remembrance would give me leave, I have set down some Observations concerning this Subject, for your direction and practice, what is wanting you may abundantly supply by reading the wise Counsels of Solomon, in his Book of *Proverbs*: Read these my directions often, think of them seriously, and practise them diligently; though they seem but dry and ordinary things, yet you will find them useful in your Conversation, which will be every Day more evident unto you, as your judgment, understanding and experience increase.

I have but little more to write at this time, but to wish and Command you to remember my former Counsels, that I have often given you; begin and end the Day with private Prayers to God upon your knees, Read the Scriptures often and seriously, be attentive to the publick Worship of God in the Church: Keep your selves still in some good imployment, for idlenes is the Devils opportunity, and the nursery of vain and sinful thoughts,

thoughts, which Corrupt the mind, and disorder the Life. Let the Girls take care of such busines of my Family, as is proper for them, and their Recreations may be walking abroad in the Fields in Fair or Frosty Mornings, some work with their Needle, Reading of History or *Herbals*, setting of Flowers or Herbs, practizing their Musick and such innocent and harmless exercises: Let the Boys be diligent at their Books, and when they have performed their Tasks, I do not deny them such Recreations as may be healthy, safe and harmless. Be you all kind and loving one to another, honouring your Minister, not bitter or harsh to my Servants, be respectful to all, bear my absence Patiently, Cheerfully and Faithfully; do all things as if I were present among you, and beheld you, for you have a greater Father than I am, that always and in all places beholds you, and knows your hearts and thoughts: Study to requite the Love, and Care, and Expence of your Father for you, with dutifullness, observance and obedience to him: And account it an honour, that God hath given you an opportunity in my absence, by your Care, Faithfulness and Industry, to pay some part of that debt, that by the Laws of Nature and Gratitude you owe unto me: Be frugal in my Family, but let there be no want: Provide conveniently for the Poor, that come to my door. And I pray God to fill all your hearts with his Grace, Fear and Love; and to let you see the advantage and comfort of serving him, and that his blessing, and presence, and comfort, and direction, and providence, be with you, and over you all. I am,

Your ever Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE.

The

The Author's Third Epistle to
one of his Sons :

After his Recovery from the Small-pox.

Son —

Although by reason of the Contagiousness of your Disease, and the many dependents I have upon me, I thought it not convenient to come unto you during, your sickness; yet I have not been wanting in my earnest Prayers to Almighty God for you, nor in using the best means I could for your recovery.

It hath pleased God to hear my Prayers for you, and above means and hopes now to restore you to a Competent degree of health, for which I return unto him my humble and hearty thanks, and now you are almost ready to come abroad again, therefore I have thought fit to write this little Book to you, for these reasons,

1. Because it is not yet seasonable for you to come to me, in respect of these same reasons above mentioned, which hitherto have restrained my coming to you.

2. Because at your coming abroad, you will be subject to Temptations, by young and inconsiderate Company, which instead of serious Thankfulness to God for his mercy to you, might perchance perwade you to a vain, and light jollity: And I thought fit to send you these Lines to prevent such inconsiderate impressions, and to meet you just at your

your coming abroad, to season you with more wise and serious principles.

3. Because you are even now come out of a great and sore Visitation, and therefore, in all probability, in the fittest temper to receive the impressions of a serious Epistle from your Father.

And I have chosen to put it into this little Volume, because it is somewhat too long for a Letter; and may be better preserved for your future use and memory.

God Almighty hath brought you to the very Gates of Death, and shewed you the Terrore, and Danger of it; and after that he had shewn you this Spectacle of your own Mortality, he hath Marvellously rescued and delivered you from that Danger, and given you Life, even from the Dead, so that you are as a man new Born into the World, or returned to Life again, which now you seem as it were to begin: You have passed through those two great Dispensations of the Divine Providence, those two great Experiments, that God is pleased sometimes to use towards the Children of men, namely, Correction and Deliverance, his Rod and Staff: And therefore in all reasonable conjecture, this is the most seasonable time to give you a Lecture upon both, and those admonitions which may be, render the one, and the other profitable unto you: And this I shall endeavour to do in these following Lines.

First, you shall not need to fear that I intend to upbraid you with the errors of your Youth, or to expostulate with you touching them: For I do assure you I do from my heart forgive you all your follies, and miscarriages: And I do assure

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my self that you have repented of them, and resolved against them for the time to come, and that thereupon God-Almighty hath also fully forgiven what is past: And this is a great assurance thereof to me, in that he hath so wonderfully restored you, and given you as it were a new Life, wherein you may obey and serve him better than ever you yet did: And therefore if in this Letter, there be any touches concerning former vanities, assure your self, they are not angry repetitions, but only necessary Cautions for your future ordering of your Life.

The business of these papers, is principally, to commend unto you, two general Remembrances, and certain Results and Collections, that arise from them, they are all seasonable for your present Condition, and will be of singular use and benefit to you, in the whole ensuing Course of your Life.

First, I would have you as long as you live remember your late Sickness in all its Circumstances, and these plain and profitable inferences, and advices that arise from it.

Secondly, I would have you remember as long as you live, your great deliverance, and the several Circumstances of it, and those necessary duties that are incumbent upon you in relation thereto.

It is evident to daily experience, that while Afflictions are upon us, and while deliverances are fresh, they commonly have some good effect upon us: But as the Iron is no sooner out of the fire, but it quickly returns to its old coldness, and hardness; so when the Affliction or Deliverance is past,

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we usually forget them, count them common things, attribute them to Means and second Causes : And so the Good that Mankind should gather from them vanishes, and Men grow quickly to be but what they were before they came ; their Sick-bed Promises are forgot, when the Sicknes is over.

And therefore I shall give you an account of your Sicknes, and of your Recovery : And let them never be forgotten by you ; as often as those Spots and Marks in your Face are reflected to your view from the Glass, as often as this Paper comes in your sight, nay as often as you open your Eyes from sleep, which were once closed, and likely never to open again ; so often and more often remember your Sicknes, and your Recovery, and the Admonitions that this Paper lends you from the Consideration of both.

First, therefore touching your late Sicknes, I would have you remember these particulars : 1. The Disease it self, in its own Nature, is now become ordinarily very Mortal, especially to those of your Age : Look upon even the last Years General Bill of Mortality, you will find near Two thousand dead of that Disease the last Year, and had not God been very merciful to you, you might have been one of that number, with as great likelihood as any of them that died of that Disease : 2. It was a Contagious Disease, that secluded the access of your nearest Relations : 3. Your Sicknes surprised you upon a suddain, when you seemed to be in your full strength : 4. Your Sicknes rendred you Noysome to your self, and all that were about you, and a Spectacle full of Deformity, by the excesses of your Disease beyond most that are sick thereof : 5. It was a fierce and violent Sicknes, it did

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not

not only take away the common supplies of nature, as digestion, sleep, strength, but it took away your Memory, your Understanding, and the very Sense of your own Condition, or of what might be conducible to your good : All that you could do, was only to make your Condition more desperate, in Case they that were about you, had not prevented it, and taken more Care for you, than you did or could for your self: 6. Your Sickness was desperate, insomuch, that your Symptoms, and the violence of your Distemper, were without Example ; and you were in the very next degree to absolute Rottenness, Putrefaction, and Death it self.

Look upon the foregoing Description, and remember that such was your Condition, you were as sad a Picture of Mortality, and Corruption, as any thing but Death it self could make : Remember it : and remember also, these ensuing Instructions, that may make that Remembrance profitable and useful to you.

First, Remember that *Affliction cometh not forth of the dust, nor doth trouble spring out of the ground*, Job §. 6. But this terrible Visitation, was sent to you from the wise over-ruling Providence of God : It is he that bringeth down to the Grave, and bringeth up again. It is true, that this Disease may seem common, but you may and must know, that there was more than the common hand of God in sending it upon you, in such a manner, and such a measure, and at such a season, when you were grown up to a Competent Age, and degree of Understanding, to make a due use of it, that you might see his Justice in Afflicting you, and his goodness in delivering you from such a danger.

Secondly,

Secondly, Remember that Almighty God is of most infinite Wisdom, Justice and Mercy, he hath excellent ends in all his Dispensations of his Provocations : He never sends an Affliction, but it brings a Message with it, his Rod has a Voice ; a Voice commanding us, to search and try our ways, and to examine our selves whether there hath not been some great Sin against him, or neglect of Duty to him ; a Voice Commanding us to repent of what is amiss, to humble our selves under his mighty hand, to turn to him that striketh us, to seek to him by Prayer for Deliverance, to depend upon him by Faith, in his Mercy and Power ; to amend what is amiss, to be more watchful, circumspect, and obedient to him, in the future course of our Lives, to fear to offend him : And if a Man hear this Voice, God hath his end of Mercy and Goodness, and Man hath the Fruit, Benefit, and Advantage of his Affliction, and commonly a Comfortable issue of it : Read often and attentively the 33d Chapter of Job, from the beginning to the end.

Third, Remember how uncertain, and frail a Creature Man is, even in his seeming strongest Age, and Constitution of Health ; even then a Pestilential Air, some evil humour in his Blood, some obstruction it may be of a little Vein or Artery, a little Meat ill digested, and a thousand small occurrences may upon a sudden, without any considerable warning, plunge a Man into a desperate and mortal Sickness, and bring a Man to the Grave. Remember this terrible Sickness seized upon you suddenly, pulled down your strength quickly, and brought you to the very brink of the Grave : And though God hath recovered you, you know not how soon you may be brought into the like Condition.

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Fourthly,

Fourthly, Remember therefore, that you make and keep your Peace with God, and walk in his fear in the days of Health; especially after so great a Deliverance, and that for very many reasons: 1. You know not whether you may not be overtaken with sudden Death, and then it will be impossible for you to begin that Work: 2. If you have Sickness to give you warning of the approach of Death, yet you know not whether that Sickness may not suddenly take away your Senses, Memory, or Understanding, whereby you may be disabled to make your Peace with God, or to exercise any serious Thoughts concerning it: 3. But if that Sickness give you fair warning, and take not away your Understanding, yet your own Experience cannot chuse but let you know, that pain, and weakness, and distraction of Mind, and Impatience, and Unquietness, are the common attendants of a sick Bed, and render that season at least very difficult, then to begin that greatest and solemnest, and most important business of a Mans Life. 4. But if your Sickness be not so sharp, but that it leaves you Patience, and Attention of Mind for that great business, how do you know whether your Heart shall be inclined to it? Repentance and Conversion to God is his Gift, though it must be our endeavour: And though the merciful God, never refuseth a repenting, returning Offender; yet how can a Man that all the time of his Health hath neglected Almighty God, refused his invitations, and served his Lusts and his Sin, expect reasonably, that God in the time of Sickness, when the Man can serve his Sins no longer, will give him the Grace of Repentance?

Whatever you do therefore, be sure you make your Peace with God, and keep it in the days of your

your Health, especially after so great a deliverance from so desperate a Sicknes.

Fifthly, Remember that your condition is never so low, but that God hath Power to deliver you, and therefore trust in him: But remember withal, that your Condition is never so safe and secure, but you are within the reach of his Power to bring you down: You are now by the Mercy of God recovered from a terrible Sicknes, think not with your self, that your turn is now served, and that you shall have no more need of him, and therefore that you may live as you list, and never regard your Duty to him: deceive not your self herein, remember that this Sicknes, within two or three days brought you upon your Knees, even from a seeming State of Health: The Case is the same still, nay much worse, if this Affliction make you not better; Almighty God called you to love, and serve, and obey him, by the still Voice of his Word, by the perswasion of your Friends, by the advices and reproofs of your Father; and when these were not so effectual, (as I know you now wish they had been) He sent a Meslenger that Spake lowder, that would be heard, even this terrible Sicknes; and most certainly, if you have heard the Voice of this Rod, (as I am hopeful you have) and thereupon entirely turn to your Duty to God in all Sincerity and Obedience, it is the happiest Providence that ever befel you, and you will upon sound Conviction, conclude with the Prophet, *It was good for me that I was Afflicted:* But on the other side, if notwithstanding this Voice of the Rod, you shall after your recovery turn again to Folly and Vanity, and Excess, and harden your self against this Messenger; know for certain you are within the reach of the

Divine Justice and Power : *And if you walk contrary to him, he will walk contrary to you, and punish you yet seven times for your sins*, Levit. 26, 24. I therefore give you that Counsel, that our Lord gave to him that he had healed, *Behold thou art made whole, go thy way and sin no more, left a worse thing befal thee.* There is no contesting with Almighty God, he is ready and easie to be reconciled to the worst of Men, upon Humiliation and true Repentance, but he is not to be Mastered or Conquered by obstinacy and opposition : *Who hath hardened himself against him and prospered?* Job 9. 4.

Sixthly, I would have you remember, that Sickness as well as Death doth undeceive Mankind, and shews them where their true Wisdom lies : When a young Man, especially, is in the full career of his Vanity and Pleasures, he thinks that Religion, and the Fear of God, and walking according to his Word, and the serious practice of Duties of Religion towards God, Prayer unto him, making our Peace with him, are pitiful, low, foolish, and inconsiderable matters, and that those that practice them, are a sort of brain-fick, melancholy, unintelligent Persons, that want wit or breeding, and understand not Themselves or the World ; that they are mere empty Fancies and Imaginations, Whim-sies, Puritanism, and I know not what else : But on the other side, they think they are the brave Men that live splendidly, deny themselves no Pleasure, can Drink, and Roar, and Whore, and Debauch, and wear the newest Fashions ; it may be, this Gallant or Wise Man comes to be taken with a fit of Sickness, that tells him he must die, Death is at the door, his Glass is almost out, and but a few sands left in it : And then the Man becomes quite of

of another Judgment, he cries out of his former foolishness, he finds his Pleasures and Intemperance and Excess, are not only perfect Follies, but Madness, Vexation, Torment; and Religion and Prayer to God, and Devotion and Peace with God, they are now in request; and now nothing but declamations against those Courses, which in his Health he valued as the only Wisdom; and nothing but promises of Amendment, and Reformation of Life and Devotion to God; so sickness hath undeceived the Man, and given him a true and rectified Judgment concerning Wisdom, and Folly, quite contrary to what he had before. Therefore I would have you to recollect your self, (and if the violence of your Disease left you at any time the use of your Reason) bethink your self what opinion you then had of Intemperance, wasting of time, unlawful Lust, or any of those sins that formerly pleased you in your Health, whether they did not appear to you in your Sickness, very vain, foolish, vexing things, such as you wished never to have been committed; and on the other side, what opinion you had in your Sickness touching Piety towards God, hearing of his Word, calling upon his Name, redeeming of Time, Modesty, Temperance: Whether those actions of your Life past, that favoured of these, were not comfortable, and contenting to you in your Sickness; whether your purposes, and promises, and resolutions of your sick-bed, were not full of such thoughts as these: If it please God to recover me, I will never be such a fool as I have been, I will never drink to excess, mispend my Time, I will never keep such evil Company as I have done, I will be more devout towards God, more obedient to his Word, more observant of good Counsel, and

the like: And if you find it to be so, I must desire you to remember that Affliction, is the School of Wisdom, it rectifies Mens Judgments; and I must again desire you, to keep your Judgment right still, and let not the Recovery of your Health become the loss of your Wits; but in your Health retain that Wisdom your Sicknes taught you, and practise what you then promised: *Remember he is the wisest Man that provides for his latter end*, Deut. 32. 29.

Seventhly, Remember by your former Sicknes, how pitiful an inconsiderable thing the Body of Man is; how soon is the strength of it turned to faintness, and weakness? The beauty of it to ugliness and deformity, the consistency of it to putrefaction and rottenness; and then remember how foolish a thing it is, to be proud of such a Carcass, to spend all, or the greatest part of our time in trimming and adorning it, in studying new Fashions, and new Postures, and new Devices to set it out: In spending our Time and Provisions in pampering it, in pleasing the Appetite; and yet this is the chief busines of most young Men of this Age: Learn therefore Humility and Lowliness, learn to furnish thy Noble and Immortal part, thy Soul, with Religion, Grace, Knowledge, Virtue, Goodness, for that will retain it to Eternity: How miserable is that Man's Condition, that whiles Sicknes hath made his Body a deformed, weak, loathsome thing, sin hath made his Soul as ugly, and deformed; The Grave will heal or cover the deformity of the former, but the Soul will carry its Ulcers and Deformity (without Repentance) into the next World: Learn and remember therefore, to have thy greatest Care for thy Noblest part, furnish it with Piety, Grace.

Grace, Knowledge, the Fear and Love of God, Faith in Christ : And as for thy Body, use it Decently, Soberly and Comely, that it may be a fit Instrument for thy Soul to use in this Life, but be not proud of it, nor make it thy chiefest Care and Busines to adorn, much less defile it.

Eighthly, Remember to avoid Intemperance and sinful Lusts : It is true, Sickness and Diseases, and finally Death, are by the Laws and Constitutions of our Nature incident to all Mankind : But Intemperance, excess of Eating and Drinking, Drunkenness, Whoring, Uncleanness and Disorder bring more Diseases, especially upon young Men, and destroy more young, strong, healthy Men, than the Plague, or other Natural or Accidental Distempers : They weaken the Brain, corrupt the Blood, decay and distemper the Spirit, disorder and putrefie the Humours, and make the Body a very bag full of Putrefaction : Some Diseases are as it were specifical, and appropriate to these Vices, other Diseases are commonly occasioned by them, by their Inflammation and Putrefaction of the Blood, and Humours : And all Diseases, even those that are Epidemical, Natural or Casual, yet are rendred by those Vices far more sharp, lasting, malignant and incurable, by that stock of corrupted matter, they lodge in the Body to feed those Diseases, and that impotency that these Vices bring upon Nature to resist them : Therefore if you ever expect to have as well a sound Body, as a sound Mind, carefully avoid Intemperance and Debauchery : The most temperate and sober Persons are subject to sickness, weakness and diseases, but the Intemperate can never be long without them.

And

And thus I have done with the prospect of your Disease, and at least many of these profitable uses you may gather from the remembrance of it.

II. I shall now in the second place, put you in remembrance of your Deliverance, touching which, you must remember ; 1. That it was a great, eminent, and extraordinary deliverance, you need no other Evidence of it, than by looking back upon the greatness and severity of your disease before-mentioned : 2. It was a deliverance by the immediate Power and Mercy of that God, that sent you the Visitation.

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit. If you had been delivered by the immediate efficacy of means, yet you are blind if you see not that the efficacy of means depends upon the Providence of God, it is he that provides it, and that makes means effectual. But in this deliverance God hath pleased to hedge up (as it were) your way from attributing it to means, and hath given you an indication, that it was done by his own immediate power, and that he delivered you above, and beyond means : It is true, you had a very able and careful Physician, and very great attendance and care was used about you : But when your Physician and all that were about you, began to despair of your recovery, when means proved ineffectual when the strength of Nature was exhausted and baffled by your disease, God Almighty upon a sudden, and beyond expectation, relieved you, and as it were by his own hand brought you back from the very threshold of the Grave : And this he did, that you and all about you, and all your Relations might take notice of it, that it was he that did it.

And

And thus Almighty God hath exercised towards you, two great Experiments, the first of his Severity, the second of his Mercy : And as your Sickness and Rod had its Voice, (a lowd and sharp Voice) so your recovery and deliverance hath its Voice also, a sweet, gentle, and (I hope) effectual Voice ; and I will as shortly as I can tell you what it is.

First, Remember this benefit, remember it was reached out unto you, from the meer Power, Goodness, and Mercy of God : Remember evermore in your Heart and Soul, to be thankful to him for it : Remember as long as you live upon all occasions, to acknowledge it ; daily to return upon your Knees humble Thanks for it, to him that had regard to you, and remembred you in your low Estate, to him that forgave your Iniquities, and healed your Disease, to him that did this for you when all means failed, that did it for you, when you had not the understanding to call upon him for it ; to him that did it for you, that deserved it not, for you that had provoked him, and neglected him too much in the time of your Health. This God it was, that thus delivered you ; Read often the 103 Psalm attentively, and apply it to your own Condition, it will do you good.

2. Remember to acknowledge this goodness of God with all humility ; your deliverance was not the purchase of your own power, nor of your own desert, it was an Act of the free and undeserved goodness of God ; what Almighty God said by Moses unto the Israelites, Deut. 9. 4, 6. I shall say to you with some variation ; understand therefore that the Lord thy God hath not given thee this deliverance for thy Righteousness : No it is the meer effect of his own Goodness, and to give you opportunity

opportunity to praise him, and serve him, better than ever you did before.

3. Remember that although great deliverances, require your great acknowledgments, yet there is somewhat more required, namely, a real practical glorifying of God, by ordering your Conversation aright, by serving him, pleasing him, obeying him, living to his honour: This Almighty God expects as well as praises, and acknowledgments; As the end of God in afflictions is to make men better, so the end of God in deliverances is to make Men better, and if we are not the better Men by both dispensations, we do as much as in us lies disappoint Almighty God in his design, and disappoint our selves of the benefit and advantage intended in both, and easily to be gained by both. This therefore is the Voice of this deliverance, it calls sweetly, and gently indeed, but earnestly and effectually for amendment of Life: And that upon two great and moving Arguments: 1. Your recovery and great deliverance calls for this from you, upon the account of common Ingenuity and good Nature, which obligeth a Man to be observant and dutiful to his Benefactor: God Almighty is the greatest Benefactor, and hath manifested himself such to you, upon a visible and eminent account; this is engagement enough upon the account of common Humanity, to be dutiful and obedient to him: When therefore you are at any time by the Temptation of your own Corruption, or by the Sollicitation of evil Persons, solicited to evil Actions: Consider thus with your self, Is this a becoming return to that God, that hath thus wonderfully delivered me? Is this the requital that I shall make to him for his Mercy? Shall I please a vain Lust,

Lust, or a vain Companion, and displease the Great God of Heaven and Earth, that hath thus delivered me and done me more good, than all the World could ever do me, or than I can ever recompence? *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O ye foolish People, and unwise? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath he not made thee, and established thee?* Deut. 32.6.

2. This mercy calls for your obedience to God, in an eminent manner upon the account of common prudence and discretion; the benefit of your obedience to him will be your own, your own happiness in this Life, and in that to come: There is no greater moral security against future dangers and troubles, than obedience, and reformation of Life upon great deliverances received; nor is there any greater invitation of new troubles and mischiefs, than ingratitude, disobedience, and great sins after great mercies and deliverances: There is a kind of certain and infallible connexion between great sins, after great mercies received, and great judgments to follow, *Ingentia beneficia, ingentia peccata, ingentia supplicia.* Again, as I have formerly told you, you do not know how soon you may stand in need of the same mercy, and goodness of God, which you have formerly found: You are never out of the reach of his power, and the necessity of his help; whatever you do, therefore never disoblige him, by whom you Live, and whose extraordinary mercy you may stand in need of, you know not how soon: There is nothing in the World doth more provoke God, than neglect, forgetfulness, or wilful disobedience after signal mercies: These provoke the merciful God to a severity of the highest kind, because the sweetest and most obliging call of mercy and deliverance is neglected: Read the first Chapter of the Proverbs attentively. And

And the merciful God hath given us a plain Rule and Method, how he may be served, obeyed, and pleased, he hath given us a plain discovery of his Will in the Scriptures of both Testaments: Read that often, you have it by you, and you need not go far to find what is your Maker's Will, and what that Obedience is, that he requires as the return of this, and all other his Mercies: Yet I think it not amiss, to mind you of some Particulars, that may be useful for you upon this Occasion, and to direct you how particularly to improve it, and so order your future Life in some measure answerable to it.

1. I would have you make it your first Busines, after your perfect Recovery, to consider the Course of your Life past, since you came to the Age of Discretion, and see what hath been amiss in it; whether you have not neglected Religion, and the Duties of it too much, as Prayer, hearing the Word Preached, observing the Lord's-day, receiving the Sacrament; whether you have not been guilty of Intemperance, excess of Drinking, Wantonnes, Uncleanness, Idlenes, mispending your Time, and those Supplies which have been allowed you for your Maintenance; whether you have not too much delighted in vain and sinful, and disorderly Company, Vanity and Expence in Apparel: And if any such, or the like Faults have been, repent of them, be sorry for them, resolve against them; and let the future Course of your Lif: be amended in relation thereunto: I have before told you, that your heavenly Father hath forgiven you, and I have forgiven you, neither do I mention these things to upbraid you for them, but that you upon the Consideration of what hath been amiss,

amiss, may be thereby the better enabled to rectifie and set in order your future Life : If this be done and practised, I will reckon your late Sickness and Distemper one of the greatest Blessings that ever befel you.

2. I would have you always keep a Habit of the fear of God upon your Heart : Consider his Presence, order your Life as in his Presence ; consider that he always sees you, beholds, and takes notice of you, and especially whether you carry your self answerable to this great Deliverance, it is one of those Talents for which he will expect an Account from you.

3. I would have you frequently and thankfully consider of the great Love of God in Jesus Christ, whom he hath given to be the Instructor, and Governor, and Sacrifice for the Sins of you and all Mankind, through whom upon Repentance you have Assurance of the Remission of your Sins and eternal Life ; and frequently consider how great an Engagement this is upon you, and all Mankind, to live according to such a Hope and such a Mercy.

4. I would have you every Morning read a Portion of the Holy Scriptures, 'till you have read the Bible from the beginning to the end : Observe it well, read it reverently and attentively, set your Heart upon it, and lay it up in your Memory, and make it the Direction of your Life ; it will make you a wise and a good Man : I have been acquainted somewhat with Men and Books, and have had long Experience in Learning, and in the World : There is no Book like the Bible for excellent Learning, Wisdom, and Use, and it is want of Understanding in them, that think or speak otherwise.

5. Every

5. Every Morning and every Evening upon your Knees with all reverence and attention of mind, return hearty thanks to God for his mercy to you, and particularly for this deliverance, desire his Grace to enable you to walk in some measure answerable to it ; beg his Providence to protect you, his Grace to direct you, to keep you from evil actions, and evil persons, and evil occurrences, beg his pardon for your sin, and the continuance of his favour, always concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

6. Observe conscientiously the Lord's day to keep it Holy, avoid idle company, idle discourse, recreations, and secular imployments upon that day ; resort twice that day to the publick Prayers and Sermon, come early to it, be attentive at it, keep your Eyes and Mind from roving after vain thoughts or objects ; and spend the rest of that day, that is free from necessary occasions, in reading the Scriptures, or some good Books of Divinity.

7. Once every Term at least come preparedly, and reverently to the Holy Communion, receive it with great reverence, and thankfulness, and due consideration of the end of its institution : Renew your Covenant with Almighty God, that you made in Baptism, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly before him, and beg his Grace and Strength to perform it.

And as those directions before, do more specially relate to Almighty God, and your deportment immediately towards him ; so these that follow , more-especially relate to your self and others, and your moral Conversation : Therefore,

8. Be very moderate in eating and drinking , drunkenness is the great vice of the time, and by drunkenness I do mean, not only gross drunkenness, but

but also tipling, drinking excessively, and immoderately, or more than is convenient or necessary ; avoid those companies that are given to it, come not into those places that are devoted to that beastly vice, namely, Taverns and Alehouses, avoid and refuse those devices that are used to occasion it, as drinking and pledging of Healths : Be resolute against it, and when your resolution is once known, you will never be solicited to it : The *Rechabites* were commanded by their Father not to drink Wine, and they obeyed it, and had a blessing for it ; my Command to you is not so strict, I allow you the moderate use of Wine and strong Drink at your meals, I only forbid you the excess, or unnecessary use of it, and those places and companies, and artifices that are temptations to it.

9. Avoid wanton and lascivious Actions, Speeches and Company : Read *Proverbs* 2. 5, 6, 7. 9. A Whore hunts for the precious life of a Man, and that vice brings a ruin with it to the Body, Soul, and Estate : If you cannot conveniently contain yourself in a single life, and be of competent health, marry, but with the advise and counsel of your Father, while he lives.

10. Be frugal of your time (it is one of the best Jewels we have) and to that end avoid idleness, it consumes your time, and lays you open to worse inconveniences ; let your recreations be healthy, and creditable, and moderate, without too much expence of time, or money : Go not to Stage-plays, they are a most profuse wasting of time ; value time by that estimate we would have of it, when we want it, what would not a sick Man give for those portions of time of health, that he had formerly improvidently wasted ?

U

11. Be

11. Be diligent in your Study and Calling; it is an act of duty to Almighty God, that requires it, and it will be your wisdom and benefit; it will be a good expence of time, a prevention from a thousand inconveniences and temptations. that otherwise will befall a man; it will furnish you with knowledge and understanding, give you the advantage and means of a comfortable and plentiful subsistence, and make you a support, comfort, and benefit to your Friends and Country.

12. Be frugal in your expences, live within the compass of that Exhibition, that God's Providence and your Father's abilities shall supply you withal; it is enough to maintain an honest provident man, and ten times more will not be enough for a profuse mind: A frugal man will live comfortably and plentifully upon a little; and a profuse man will live beggarly, necessitously, and in continual want, whatever his supplies be.

13. In all your expences consider before hand: Can I not be well enough without this that I am about to buy? Is there an absolute necessity of it? Can I not forbear 'till I am in a better Condition to compass it? If I buy or borrow can I pay? And when? And am I sure? Will this expence hold out? How shall I bring about the next quarter, or the next year? If young men would but have the patience to consider, and ask themselves Questions of the like nature, it would make them considerate in their expences, and provident for the future; and these considerations will in a special manner concern you, in respect of your Father's great expences for you, which though I have forgiven, and forgotten, I would have you remember with Gratitude and Caution.

14. The vanity of young men in loving fine Cloaths, and new Fashions, and valuing themselves by them, is one of the most childish pieces of folly that can be, and the occasion of great profuseness and undoing of young men: Avoid curiosity and too much expensiveness in your apparel: Let your apparel be comely, plain, decent, cleanly, not curious or costly; it is the sign of a weak head piece, to be sick for every new Fashion, or to think himself the better in it, or the worse without it.

15. Be careful what company you consort with, and much more careful what persons you grow intimate with; chuse sober, wise, learned, honest, religious company, you will gain learning and wisdom, and improve your self in virtue and goodness, by conversing with them: But avoid debauched, foolish, intemperate, prodigal, atheistical, prophane company, as you would avoid a plague; they will corrupt and undo you, they are a sort of the most pitiful fools in the world, and familiar acquaintance and conversation with them, will endanger to make you like them.

16. Weigh and consider your words, before you speak them, and do not talk at random, or at a venture; let your words be few, and to the purpose, be more ready to hear others than to speak your self; accustom your self to speak leisurely, and deliberately, it will be a means to make you speak warily and considerately.

17. Be very careful to speak truth, and beware of lying; as lying is displeasing to God, so it is offensive to man, and always at the latter end returns to the reproach or disadvantage of him that useth it; it is an evidence of a weak and unmanly mind. Be careful that you believe not hastily strange news,

and strange stories, and be much more careful that you do not report them, though at the second hand, for if it prove an untruth, (as commonly strange stories prove so) it brings an imputation of levity upon him that reports it, and possibly some disadvantage to others.

18. Take heed what you promise, see that it be just, and honest, and lawful; and what is in your power, honestly and certainly to perform: And when you have so promised, be true to your word. It is for the most part the fashion of inconsiderate and young men, (especially that run in debt) they will with great asseverations, promise precise payment, at this or that day; when either they certainly know they cannot perform, or at least have no probable assurance that they can do it; and when their turn is served, they are as backward in performance, as they were before liberal in their promises. Breach of promises and lying are much of a nature, and commonly go together, and are arguments of an impotent and unmanly mind.

19. Beware of Gaming, it is the suddennest Consumption of an Estate that can be, and that vice seldom goes alone; commonly debauchery of all kinds accompanies it: Besides it makes a man of a wild, vast, and unsettled mind; and such men are impatient of an honest calling, or of moderate or honest gain.

20. Run not into debt either for wares sold, or Money borrowed; be content to want things that are not of absolute necessity, rather than to run upon the score; such a man pays at the latter end a third part more than the Principal comes to, and is in perpetual servitude to his creditors, lives uncomfortably, is necessitated to increase his debts, to stop his creditors

creditors mouths, and many times falls into desperate Courses.

21. Be respectful to all, familiar and intimate with few, be Grateful to your Benefactors, especially to those, who under God, were instrumental for your good, in your late Sickness, and return your thanks to them ; to your Father that spared no cost for your recovery, to your Doctor that was exceedingly diligent about you, to those that attended you in your Sickness, to those that together with your Father often prayed to God for your recovery, and for a blessing upon this Affliction, whose Names you shall in due time particularly know. But above all, to Almighty God, who not only provided and blessed the means, but saved, and delivered you above means, and when means failed.

22. Lastly, I shall conclude with one advice more, without the observance whereof my labour in writing this long Epistle will be probably fruitless : Be not wise in your own conceit, this is the unhappy error, and many times the ruin of young Men especially : They are usually rash, giddy, and inconsiderate, and yet extreamly confident of that which they have least reason to trust, namely, their own understanding, which renders them most reserved from them that are willing and best able to advise them, impatient of reproof, love to be flattered, and so become uncapable of good and wise Counsel, till their follies have reduced them to extream straits and inconveniencies ; suspect therefore your own Judgment : Advise often with your Father, especially in all things of moment ; be glad of his Counsel, and be contented and willing to follow it, and to guide your Life according to it ; at least till ripeness of Age, Observation, and Experience,

perience, have enabled you better to advise your self: This is an easie, and ready and cheap way of attaining Wisdom, and avoiding of infinite inconveniences.

And thus I have in this long Epistle, given you the means how you may improve both your Sickness, and recovery, to the Glory of God, and your own benefit.

I shall therefore conclude with two Considerations, that may the more engage you to this use of both these Dispensations.

1. The danger is great, if Afflictions make not a Man more humble and dutiful, and the danger is yet greater, if great deliverances and mercies do not make a Man more thankful and obedient to God; because it is the most obliging method that the Gracious God can use towards the Children of Men, for that end, in this Life: And the neglect of that invitation, adds Ingratitude and Contempt to the neglect of it.

2. The benefit that you will receive by making a good use of these two dispensations, in improving your dutifulness and obedience to God, will be singular and excellent: 1. It will make you a Wise Man, by making you a Good, and a Religious Man: Believe it from your Father, who will not deceive you; nay, believe it from a greater than your Father, the very Spirit of truth, who cannot deceive you; the true fear of God, is the only true Wisdom: Read *Deut.* 4. 6. *Job* 28. 28. *Psal.* 111. 10. *Prov.* 1. 7. *Prov.* 9. 10. *Eccles.* 12. 13. and very many more declarations there are of this great truth:

truth: 2. It will make you a happy Man, it will give you the Favour and Love of God, which is better than Life it self: You shall have his Mercy to pardon you, his Providence to protect you, his Wisdom to direct you, his goodness to bless you, and to forgive; and forget whatsoever hath heretofore been done amiss by you: This will make all Conditions comfortable to you, whether Life or Death, Sickness or Health: By this means you may be a Comfort to your Father, a Support to your Brothers and Sisters, an Instrument of Good to your Country, and attain an Honest, Credible, and Competent Subsistence in this World, and an everlasting Inheritance of Glory and Immortality in the World to come. Thus I have given you a large Letter of sound and good Counsel: Set your Heart to it, and observe and remember it: We see how unstable our Lives are, you nor I know not how soon, either or both of us may leave this World: It may be, this may be the last Paper of Advice that your Father may give you: But however it shall please God to deal with you or me, touching our continuance in this World, yet let me leave this with you, in the close of this Letter: If I shall find that these directions are dutifully observed, I shall be ready from time to time, freely to advise and direct you; and as I have passed by your former Extravagancies, so I shall thereby have great assurance, that God hath blessed this Visitation to you. But on the other side, if I shall find that you neglect my Counsels, that you make light of them, that you still pursue those Courses that will certainly be bitterness in the end, I must then tell you, I shall pray for you, and be sorry for you with my Heart; but I shall not easily be persuaded to give

give any more Advices or Counsels, where I find them despised or neglected. In this Paper there are many things omitted, which might have been inserted; but the constant Reading of the Holy Scriptures will supply unto you that defect: I have chosen only in this Paper to mention such things which are seasonable for you upon this occasion. God Almighty hath not been wanting to you in Admonition, Correction, Mercy, and Deliverance; neither hath your Father been wanting to you in Education, Counsel, Care, and Expence: I pray God Almighty bless all unto you. This is the Prayer of,

Your Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE,

F I N I S.

THE
Life and Death
O F
Sir Matthew Hale, K^t.
SOME TIME
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE
O F
His Majesty's Court
O F
KING's BENCH.

WRITTEN
By the Right Reverend Father in God,
Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum.

L O N D O N,
Printed for William Shrowsbury, at the
Bible in Duke-Lane, 1700.



THE P R E F A C E.

NO Part of History is more instructive and delighting, than the Lives of Great and Worthy Men: The shortness of them invites many Readers, and there are such little and yet Remarkable Passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general History of the Age in which they lived; that all People are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's Lives be more generally Read than any of all the Books which the Ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the Lives of Hero's and Princes, are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular History; and do rather amuse the Reader's Fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself: And indeed the Lives of Princes are either writ with so much Flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them: Or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them, have Revenged themselves on their Memory, that there is not much to be built on them: And though the

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ill Nature of many, makes what is Satirically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the Flattery is visible and coarse, yet certainly Resentment may make the Writer corrupt the Truth of History, as much as Interest: And since all Men have their blind sides and commit Errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good Man appear in very bad Colours: So upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much Truth, or great Instruction, from what is written concerning Hero's or Princes; for few have been able to imitate the Patterns Suetonius set the World in writing the Lives of the Roman Emperors, with the same freedom that they had led them: But the Lives of Private Men, tho' they seldom entertain the Reader with such a variety of Passages as the other do; Yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present Wisdom and Virtue to him, not only in a fair Idea, which is often look'd on as a piece of the Invention or Fancy of the Writer, but in such plain and familiar Instances, as do both direct him better and persuade him more; And there are not such temptations to bias those who writ them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the Age in which we live, Religion and Virtue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of Reason, and those

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those persuasions, that they can hardly be matched in former Times; yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them, which perhaps flows from this, among other Reasons, that there are not so many excellent Patterns set out, as might both in a shorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the World, which Discourses do but coldly; The Wit and Style of the Writer being more considered than the Argument which they handle, and therefore the proposing Virtue and Religion in such a Model, may perhaps operate more than the Perspective of it can do; and for the History of Learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it, as the writing the Lives of those who have been Eminent in it.

There is no Book the Ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius his Lives of the Philosophers; if he had had the Art of writing equal to that great Subject which he undertook, for if he had given the World such an account of them, as Gaffendus has done of Peiresk, how great a Stock of Knowledge might we have had, which by his unskilfulness is in a great measure lost; Since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other, or better Author, that has written on that Argument.

For many Ages there were no Lives writ but by Monks, through whose Writings there runs such an incurable humour, of telling incredible and imitable passages, that little in them can be believed

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or proposed as a Pattern : Sulpitius Severus and Jerom shewed too much credulity in the Lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion, beyond what can be reasonably believed : after them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth Stories of the Monks of Thebais, and Nitria : and those who came after them, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their Saints above those of former Ages, so that one would have thought that undecent way of writing could rise no higher ; and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good Sense of things, and a just Apprehension of Mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris, who though he was a Writer of great Judgment and Fidelity, yet he has corrupted his History with much of that Alloy : But when emulators envy rose among the several Orders or Houses, then they improved in that Art of making Romances, instead of writing Lives, to that pitch that the World became generally much scandalized with them : The Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the Founders, or other Saints of their Orders ; and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possest of the Belief of the World, as well as of its Wealth, endeavour'd all that was possible still to keep up the Dignity of their Order, by outlying the others all they could ; and whereas here or there, a Miracle a Vision, or Trance, might have occurred in the Lives of former Saints ; now every Page was full of those wonderful things.

Nor

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Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this Age, though more awakned and better enlightened, as appears in the Life of Philip Nerius, and a great many more : And the Jesuits at Antwerp, are now taking care to load the World with a vast and voluminous Collection of all those Lives that has already swelled to eleven Volumes in Folio, in a small Print, and yet being digested according to the Kalender, they have yet but ended the Month of April : The Life of Monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest Patterns that France has afforded in this Age.

But while some have nourished Infidelity, and a scorn of all Sacred Things by writing of those good Men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the Authentical Writings of our most Holy Faith ; others have fallen into another extreme in writing Lives too jejunely, swelling them up with trifling Accounts of the Childhood and Education, and the Domestick or Private Affairs of those Persons of whom they write, in which the World is little concern'd ; by these they become so flat, that few care to read them, for certainly those Transactions are only fit to be deliver'd to Posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to after-times.

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I have now an Argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short History, but will contain in it as great a Character, as perhaps can be given of any in this Age; since there are few Instances of more Knowledge and greater Virtues meeting in one Person. I am upon one account (besides many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own Observation, but upon second thoughts I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more descriptively, for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on by the tenderness of their Friendship for them, to raise their Stile a little too high when they write concerning them: I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last Year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go a broad) to the Chappel of the Rolls, where I then Preached: In my life I never saw so much Gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity as appear'd in his looks, and behaviour, which disposed me to a Veneration for him, which I never had for any with whom I was not acquainted: I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his Conversation; but I understood that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of Business, which his Employment brought upon him, he was Master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume

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to rob him of any of it, and so he left the Town, before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the Law of England, made me also unfit to write of a Man, a great part of whose Character as to his Learning is to be taken from his Skill in the Common Law, and his Performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same Robe : Since if I engaged much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a Subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me, who having been much obliged by him, and holding his Memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by Writing his Life ; I was then engaged in the History of the Reformation, so I promised that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such Informations and Memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his Life, or the branches of his Character, which I could either gather from the Informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his Writings : I have not applied any of the false Colours with which Art, or some forced Eloquence might furnish me in Writing concerning him ; but have endeavour'd to set him out in the same simplicity,

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plicity in which he lived: I have said little of his Domestick Concerns, since though in these he was a great Example, yet it signifies nothing to the World, to know any particular Exercises, that might be given to his Patience; and therefore I shall draw a Veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the Reader some profitable Instruction: I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am persuaded is exactly true, for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the Reader against it by the mixture of falsehoods with it.

In short as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to Posterity, in his own true and native Colours, may have its due influence on all persons; but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whatever on the Bench or at the Bar.

T H E

THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
Sir Matthew Hale, K^t.
LATE
Lord Chief Justice of *England*.

MATTHEW HALE, was Born at Alderly in Gloucester-shire, the first of November, 1609. His Grand-Father was Robert Hale, an Eminent Clothier in Wotton-under-edge, in that County, where he and his Ancestors had lived for many Descents; and they had given several parcels of Land for the use of the Poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an Estate of Ten thousand Pound which he divided almost equally amongst his Five Sons; besides the Portions he gave his Daughters, from whom a numerous Post-
erity has sprung. His Second Son was Robert Hale, a Barrister of Lincolns-Inn; he Married Joan, the Daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderly, Esquire, who was descended from that Noble

Noble Family of the *Poyntz's* of *Acton* : Of this Marriage there was no other Issue but this one Son. His Grand-father by his Mother was his God-father ; and gave him his own Name at his Baptism. His Father was a Man of that strictness of Conscience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, because he could not understand the reason of giving Colour in Pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a Lye, and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of Truth and Justice which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his Estate in the Country. Of this I was informed by an Ancient Gentleman, that lived in a Friendship with his Son for Fifty Years, and he heard Judge *Jones*, that was Mr. *Hale's* Contemporary, declare this in the *Kings-Bench*. But as the care he had to save his Soul, made him abandon a Profession in which he might have raised his Family much higher, so his Charity to his Poor Neighbours, made him not only deal his Alms largely among them while he lived, but at his Death he left (out of his small Estate which was but 100 £. a Year) 20 £. a Year to the Poor of *Wotton*, which his Son confirmed to them with some Addition, and with this Regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor House-keepers, as did not receive the Alms of the Parish ; for to give it to those, was

was only as he used to say, to save so much money to the Rich, who by Law were bound to relieve the Poor of the Parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good, than a Noble Family, and yet what was wanting in the insignificant Titles of high Birth, and Noble Blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his Ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the Happiness of his Father's Care and Instruction, for as he lost his Mother before he was Three Years Old, so his Father died before he was Five; so early was he cast on the Providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him: For after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his Uncle by his Mother, he was committed to the Care of *Anthony Kingscot*, of *Kingscot*, Esquire, who was his next Kinsman, after his Uncles by his Mother.

Great Care was taken of his Education, and his Guardian intended to breed him to be a Divine, and being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some Schools that were Taught by those of that Party, and in the Seventeenth Year of his Age, sent him to *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxford*, where *Obadiah Sedgwick* was his Tutor. He was an extraordinary Proficient at School, and for some time at *Oxford*. But the Stage-Players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many Plays, that he almost wholly forsook his Studies

Studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his Head came to be thereby filled with such vain Images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him ; and being afterwards sensible of the Mischief of this, he resolved upon his coming to *London*, (where he knew the opportunities of such Sights would be more frequent and Inviting) never to see a Play again, to which he constantly adhered.

The Corruption of a Young Man's Mind in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it, so he being now taken off from following his Studies, and from the Gravity of his deportment, that was formerly Eminent in him, far beyond his Years, set himself to many of the Vanities incident to Youth, but still preserved his Purity, and a great Probitv of Mind. He loved fine Clothes, and delighted much in Company : And being of a strong and robust Body, he was a great Master at all those Exercises that required much Strength. He also learned to Fence, and handle his Weapons, in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the Masters of those Arts : but as he was exercising himself in them, an Instance appear'd, that shewed a good Judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his Masters told him he could Teach him no more, for he was now better at his own Trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale lookt on

on as flattery : So to make the Master discover himself, he promis'd him the House he lived in, for he was his Tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the Head : and bad him do his best, for he would be as good as his word : so after a little Engagement, his Master being really Superior to him, hit him on the Head, and he performed his Promise ; for he gave him the House freely : and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early, to distinguish flattery from plain and simple Truth.

He was now so taken up with Martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a Scholar, or a Divine, he resolved to be a Soldier ; and his Tutor *Sedgwick* going into the *Low Countries*, Chaplain to the Renowned Lord *Vere*, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a Pike in the Prince of Orange's Army ; but a happy stop was put to this Resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the Age of the great Example he gave, and the useful Services he afterwards did his Country. He was engaged in a Suit of Law with Sir *Will. Whitmore*, who laid claim to some part of his Estate, and his Guardian being a Man of a retired Temper, and not made for Busines, he was forced to leave the *University*, after he had been Three Years in it, and go to *London* to sollicite his own Busines. Being recommended to Serjeant *Glanvil* for his Councillor, and he observing

in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid Judgment, and a great fitness for the Study of the Law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a Soldier, and to apply himself to the Study of the Law : and this had so good an effect on him, that on the Eighth of November, 1629. when he was past the Twentieth Year of his Age, he was admitted into *Lincolns-Inn* : and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that Idle and Vain things had over-run and almost corrupted his Mind, he resolved to Redeem the time he had lost, and followed his Studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it Credit. He Studied for many Years at the rate of Sixteen Hours a Day : He threw aside all fine Clothes, and betook himself to a plain Fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former Course of Life, is due to the Memory of that Eminent Lawyer, Serjeant *Glanvil*, and since my Design in Writing is to propose a Pattern of Heroick Virtue to the World, I shall mention one passage of the Serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His Father had a fair Estate, which he intended to settle on his Elder Brother, but he being a Vicious young Man, and there appearing no hopes of his Recovery, he settled it on him, that

that was his Second Son. Upon his Death, his Eldest Son finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatnings of an Angry Father, was now but too certain, became Melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his Father could not prevail in while he Lived, was now effected by the severity of his last Will, so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of an Estate that was gone from him. But his Brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him, with many of his Friends together to a Feast, and after other Dishes had been served up to the Dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his Brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the Company was surprized to find it full of Writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was sure his Father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy Change, which they now all saw in his Brother: And therefore he freely restored to him the whole Estate. This is so great an instance of a Generous and just Disposition, that I hope the Reader will easily pardon this Digression, and that the rather since that Worthy Serjeant was so Instrumental in the happy Change that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's Life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much Company with some vain People,

till a sad Accident drove him from it, for he with some other young Students, being invited to be merry out of Town, one of the Company called for so much Wine, that notwithstanding all that Mr. *Hale* could do to prevent it, he went on in his Excess till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present, were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again: This did particularly affect Mr. *Hale*, who thereupon went into another Room, and shutting the Door, fell on his Knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his Friend, that he might be restored to Life again; and that himself might be forgiven for giving such Countenance to so much Excess: and he Vowed to God, that he would never again keep Company in that manner, nor drink a Health while he Lived: His Friend recovered, and he most Religiously observed his Vow, till his Dying day. And though he was afterwards press'd to drink Healths, particularly the *Kings*, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of Loyalty, and drew many into great excess after His *Majesty's* happy Restauration; but he would never dispense with his Vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet Men called Obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forsook all vain Company and divided himself

himself between the Duties of Religion, and the Studies of his Profession ; in the former he was so regular, that for Six and Thirty years time, he never once failed going to Church on the Lord's-day : This Observation he made when an Ague first interrupted that constant Course, and he reflected on it, as an Acknowledgment of God's great Goodness to him, in so long a Continuance of his Health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the Reader will best judge, by the Scheme he drew for a Diary which I shall insert Copied from the Original, but I am not certain when he made it ; it is set down in the same Simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use,

M O R N I N G.

- I. *To lift up the Heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my Life.*
- II. *To renew my Covenant with God in Christ.*
 1. *By renewed Acts of Faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that Relation.*
 2. *Resolution of being one of his People doing him Allegiance.*
- III. *Adoration and Prayer.*
- IV. *Setting a Watch over my own Infirmitie^s and Passions over the Snares laid in our way.*
Perimus licitis.

Day Impleyment.

There must be an Impleyment, two kinds.

B 2

I. Our

- I. *Our Ordinary Calling, to serve God in it. It is a Service to Christ though never so mean.*
Colof.3. *Here Faithfulness, Diligence, Chearfulness. Not to overlay my self with more Business than I can bear.*
- II. *Our Spiritual Implyments : Mingle somewhat of God's Immediate Service in this day.*

Refreshments.

- I. *Meat and Drink, Moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.*
- II. *Recreations. 1. Not our Busness. 2. Suitable. No Games, if given to Covetousness or Passion.*

If alone.

- I. *Beware of windring, vain, Lustful Thoughts ; fly from thy self rather than entertain these.*
- II. *Let thy Solitary Thoughts be profitable, view the Evidences of thy Salvation, the State of thy Soul, the coming of Christ, thy own Mortality, it will make thee Humble and Watchful.*

Company.

Do good to them. Use God's Name Reverently. Beware of leaving an ill Impression of ill Example. Receive good from them if more knowing.

E V E N I N G.

Cast up the Accounts of the Day. If ought be amiss Beg pardon. Gather Resolution of more Vigilance.

*lunce. If well, Bless the Mercy and Grace of
God that hath Supported thee.*

These Notes have an Imperfection in the Wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his Privacies. No wonder a Man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very Eminent and remarkable.

Noy the Attorney General, being then one of the greatest Men of the Profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his Study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called *Young Noy*. He passing from the extream of Vanity in his Apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken when there was a Press for the King's Service, as a fit Person for it; for he was a strong and well built Man: But some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the Press Men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his Clothes, but never to any Superfluity or Vanity in them.

Once as he was Buying some Cloth for a new Suit, the Draper, with whom he differed about the Price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him an Hundred pound when he came to be Lord Chief Justice of *England*; to which he answered, That he could not with a good Conscience wear any Man's Cloth, unless he payed for it; so he satisfied

the Draper, and carried away the Cloth. Yet that same Draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the Study of the Law, he not only kept the Hours of the *Hall* constantly in *Term-time*, but seldom put himself out of Commons in *Vacation-time*, and continued then to follow his Studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the Books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all Records: Then did he make divers Collections out of the Books he had Read, and mixing them with his own Observations, digested them into a Common-place Book; which he did with so much Industry and Judgment, that an Eminent *Judge* of the *Kings-Bench*, borrowed it of him when he was Lord Chief *Baron*: He unwillingly lent it, because it had been Writ by him before he was called to the *Bar*, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that Time, only what alterations had been made in the Law by subsequent Statutes, and Judgments, were added by him as they had happened: but the *Judge* having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any Lawyer in *England* could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and Learned Antiquary Mr. *Selden*, who though much superior to him in Years, yet came to have

have such a liking of him, and of Mr. *Vaughn*, who was afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, that as he continued in a close Friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his Death, two of his four Executors.

It was this Acquaintance that first set Mr. *Hale* on a more enlarged pursuit of Learning, which he had before confined to his own Profession, but becoming as great a Master in it, as ever any was, very soon; he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as Comprehensive a manner as most Men have done in any Age.

He set himself much to the Study of the *Roman Law*, and though he liked the way of Judicature in *England* by Juries, much better than that of the *Civil Law*, where so much was trusted to the *Judge*; yet he often said, that the true Grounds and Reasons of Law were so well delivered in the *Digests*, that a Man could never understand Law as a Science so well as by seeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was so little Studied in *England*.

He looked on readiness in *Arithmetick*, as a thing which might be useful to him in his own Employment, and acquired it to such a Degree, that he would often on the Sudden, and afterwards on the *Bench*, resolve very hard Questions, which had puzzled the best Accomptants about Town. He rested not here, but Studied the

A'gebra both *Speciosa* and *Numerosa*, and went through all the other *Mathematical Sciences*, and made a great Collection of very excellent Instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact, as Art could make them. He was also very Conversant in *Philosophical Learning*, and in all the curious Experiments, and rare Discoveries of this Age: And had the new Books Written on those Subjects sent him from all Parts, which he both read and examined so Critically, that if the Principles and Hypotheses which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the *Torriceilian Experiment*, and of the Rarefaction and Condensation of the Air; he shews as great an Exactness, and as much Subtilty in the Reasoning he builds on them, as those Principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will seem scarce Credible, that a Man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of Mind, could find leisure to Read, Observe and Write so much of these Subjects as he did. He called them his Diversions, for he often said when he was weary with the Study of the Law, or Divinity, he used to Recreate himself with *Philosophy* or the *Mathematicks*; To these he added great skill in *Physick*, *Anatomy*, and *Chirurgery*: And he used to say *no Man cou'd be absolutely Master in any Profession, without having some skill in other Sciences*; for besides

besides the Satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his Employments. In some Examinations he would put such Questions to *Physicians* or *Chirurgeons*, that they have professed the College of *Physicians* could not do it more Exactly; by which he discovered great Judgment, as well as much Knowledge in these things: And in his Sicknes he used to Argue with his *Doctors* about his Distempers, and the Methods they took with them, like one of their own Profession; which one of them told me he understood, as far as *Speculation* without *Practice* could carry him.

To this he added great Searches into *Ancient History*, and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, *Chronology*. He was well acquainted with the Ancient Greek *Philosophers*, but want of occasion to use it, wore out his Knowledge of the *Greek Tongue*; and though he never Studied the *Hebrew Tongue*, yet by his great Conversation with *Selden*, he understood the most curious things in the *Rabbincical Learning*.

But above all these, he seemed to have made the Study of *Divinity* the chief of all others, to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read, what he has Written on these Subjects, will think, they must have had most of his Time and Thoughts. It may seem Extravagant

travagant, and almost Incredible, that one man in no great Compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of Knowledge; and that in Sciences that require much Leisure and Application. But as his Parts were quick, and his Apprehensions lively, his Memory great, and his Judgment strong; so his Industry was almost Indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the Morning, was never idle, scarce ever held any discourse about News, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no Correspondence by Letters except about necessary Busines, or matters of Learning, and spent very little time in Eating or Drinking; for as he never went to publick Feasts so he gave no Entertainments but to the Poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: And in Eating and Drinking, he observed not only great Plainness and Moderation, but lived so Philosophically, that he always ended his Meal, with an Appetite: So that he lost little time at it; (that being the only Portion which he grudged himself) and was dispos'd to any Exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had Dined: By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which dispos'd him for whatever Studies he thought fit to turn himself to;

And

And some very uneasie things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to than distract him from his Studies.

When he was called to the *Bar*, and began to make a Figure in the World, the late unhappy Wars broke out, in which it was no easie thing, for a Man to preserve his Integrity, and to live Securely, free from great Danger and trouble. He had read the Life of *Pomponius Atticus*, Writ by *Nepos*, and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much Distraction, as ever was in any Age or State, from the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, to the beginnings of *Augustus* his Reign, without the least blemish on his Reputation, and free from any Considerable Danger, being held in great Esteem by all Parties, and courted and favoured by them; He set him as a Pattern to himself, and observing that besides those Virtues which are necessary to all Men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved *Atticus*, the one was his *engaging in no Faction*, and *medling in no publick Business*, the other was his *constant favouring and relieving those that were honest*, which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the Generosity of his Temper, and procured him much Kindness from those on whom he had exercised his Bounty, when it came to their turn to Govern: He resolved to guide himself by those Rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He

He not only avoided all publick Employment, but the very talking of News, and was always both Favourable and Charitable to thofe who were depreſt, and was ſure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their Actions, for many that have Converſed much with him, have told me they never heard him once ſpeak ill of any Person.

He was implored in his practice by all the King's party: He was assigned Council to the *Earl of Strafford*, and Arch-Bishop *Land*, and afterwards to the Blessed *King* himself, when brought to the infamous Pageantry of a Mock-Tryal, and offered to plead for him with all the Courage, that ſo Glorious a Cause ought to have inspired him with, but was not ſuffered to appear, because the *King* refufing, as he had good Reafon, to submit to the Court, it was pretended none could be admitted to ſpeak for him. He was alſo Council for the *Duke of Hamilton*, the *Earl of Holland*, and the *Lord Capel*: His Plea for the former of theſe I have published in the *Memoirs* of that *Duke's* Life. Afterwards alſo being Council for the *Lord Craven*, he pleaded with that force of Argument, that the then Attorney General, threatened him for appearing againſt the Government; to whom he anſwered, He was Pleading in defence of thofe Laws, which they declared they would maintain and preſerve, and he was doing his duty.

to his Client, so that he was not to be daunted with Threatnings.

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much Learning, Fidelity, and Courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that Party; Nor was he satisfied to appear for their just Defence in the way of his Profession, but he also relieved them often in their Necessities; which he did in a way that was no less Prudent than Charitable, considering the dangers of that time: For he did often deposite considerable Summs in the hands of a Worthy Gentleman of the King's Party, who knew their Necessities well, and was to Distribute his Charity according to his own Discretion, without either letting them know, from whence it came, or giving himself any Account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell, seeing him possest of so much Practice, and he being one of the Eminenteſt Men of the Law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those Critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the Bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the Snare laid for him, and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to Exchange the easie and safer profits he had by his Practice, for a Judge's place in the Common-Pleas, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the Lawfulness of taking a Commission from Usurpers; but having considered

dered well of this, he came to be of Opinion, *that it being absolutely necessary, to have Justice and Property kept up at all times: It was no Sin to take a Commission from Usurpers, if he made no Declaration of his acknowledging their Authority,* which he never did: He was much urged to Accept of it by some Eminent Men of his own Profession, who were of the *Kings Party*, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Sir Geffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it, by the Resolution of some famous *Divines*, in particular Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Henchman, who were afterwards promoted to the Sees of *Canterbury* and *London*.

To these were added the importunities of all his Friends, who thought that in a time of so much Danger and Oppression, it might be no small Security to the Nation, to have a Man of his Integrity and Abilities on the *Bench*: And the Usurpers themselves held him in that Estimation, that they were glad to have him give a Countenance to their Courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different Principles from them, affected the Reputation of honouring and trusting Men of Eminent Virtues, of what perswasion soever they might be, in relation to publick Matters.

But he had greater Scruples concerning the proceeding against Felons, and putting Offenders to Death by that Commission, since he thought the Sword of Justice belonging only by right

tight to the lawful Prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a Capital Sentence by an Authority derived from Usurpers ; yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary Felonies, and offences against the State, for the last he would never meddle in them ; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable Actions, and that the putting men to Death on that account was Murder ; but for the ordinary Felonies, he at first was of Opinion that it was as necessary even in times of Usurpation to Execute Justice in those cases, as in the matters of property ; But after the King was Murthered, he laid by all his Collections of the Pleas of the Crown, and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the Wainscotting of his Study, for he said *there was no more occasion to use them, till the King should be again restored to his Right,* and so upon his Majesty's Restauration he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great Work.

Yet for some time after he was made a Judge, when he went the Circuit, he did sit on the Crown Side, and Judged Criminals : But having considered farther of it, he came to think that it was at least better not to do it ; and so after the Second or Third Circuit, he refused to sit any more on the Crown Side, and told plainly the reason, for in matters of Blood, he was always to choose the safer Side : And indeed

deed he had so carried himself in some Tryals, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them, of which I shall give some Instances.

Not long after he was made a *Judge*, which was in the year 1653, when he went the Circuit, a Tryal was brought before him at *Lincoln*, concerning the Murder of one of the Townsmen, who had been of the *King's Party*, and was killed by a Soldier of the *Garrison* there. He was in the Fields with a Fowling-piece on his Shoulder, which the Soldier seeing, he came to him and said, It was contrary to an Order which the *Protector* had made, *That none who had been of the King's Party should carry Arms*, and so he would have forced it from him: But as the other did not regard the Order, so being stronger than the Soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him: The Soldier went into the Town, and told one of his Fellow-Soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the Man that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to Town, and one of them went to him to demand his Gun, which he refusing, the Soldier struck at him, and as they were strugling, the other came behind, and ran his Sword into his Body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the *Affizes*, so they were both Tried: Against the one there was no Evidence of forethought Felony, so he was

was only found guilty of Man-Slaughter, and Burnt in the Hand; but the other was found guilty of Murder: And though Colonel Whalley that Commanded the Garrison, came into the Court and urged, *That the Man was Killed only for disobeying the Protectors Orders, and that the Soldier was but doing his Duty;* yet the Judge regarded both his Reasons and Threatnings very little, and therefore he not only gave Sentence against him, but ordered the Execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a Reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him of shewing both his Justice and Courage, when he was in another Circuit; he understood that the *Protector* had ordered a *Jury* to be returned for a Tryal in which he was more than ordinarily concerned: upon this information, he Examined the *Sheriff* about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-*Sheriff*, and having next asked the under-*Sheriff* concerning it, he found the *Jury* had been returned by order from *Cromwell*. Upon which he shewed the Statute, that all *Juries* ought to be returned by the *Sheriff* or his lawful Officer; And this not being done according to Law, he dismissed the *Jury*, and would not try the Cause: Upon which the *Protector* was highly displeased with him, and at his return

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from the Circuit, he told him in Anger *he was not fit to be a Judge*, to which all the Answer he made was, *That it was very true.*

Another thing met him in the Circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely: Some *Anabaptists* had rushed into a Church, and had disturbed a Congregation, while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without some Violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said *it was intolerable for Men, who pretended so highly to liberty of Conscience, to go and disturb others; Especially those who had the Encouragement of the Law on their side:* But these were so supported by some great *Magistrates* and *Officers*, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would *meddle no more with the Tryals on the Crown side.*

When Penruddock's Tryal was brought on, there was a special Messenger sent to him requiring him to assist at it. It was in Vacation time, and he was at his Country-House at Alderly: He plainly refused to go, and said, *the four Terms, and two Circuits, were enough, and the little Interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs,* and so he excused himself; he thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly, but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a *Parliament-Man*, (for there being then no House of Lords, *Judges* might have been chosen to sit in the House of *Commons*)

Commons) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the Mad and Wicked project; then on foot, by two parties, that had very different Principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really Brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a *Standing Ministry*, the *Law*, and *property of England*, and all the *Ancient Rules* of this Government, and set up in its room an *Indigested Enthusistical Scheme*, which they called the *Kingdom of Christ*, or of his *Saints*; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the *Glorious Thousand Years*, mentioned in the *Revelation*.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the Fears and Apprehensions, that all the sober Men of the Nation were in, least they should fall under the Tyranny of a distracted sort of People, who to all their other ill Principles, added great *Cruelty*, which they had Copied from those at *Munster* in the former Age, Intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own Fortunes and Families. Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle Course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he with a great many more Worthy Men came to *Parliaments*, more out of a design to *hinder Mischief*, than to *do much Good*; wisely foreseeing, that

the Inclinations for the *Royal Family* were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in Agitation, would ferment to that happy Resolution, in which they determined in *May*, 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppose the ill designs of both Parties, the *Enthusiasts* as well as the *Usurpers*. Among the other extravagant Motions made in this *Parliament*, one was, *To destroy all the Records in the Tower, and to settle the Nation on a New Foundation*; So he took this Province to himself to shew the *Madness* of this Proposition, the *Injustice* of it, and the *Mischiefs* that would follow on it, and did it with such Clearness, and strength of Reason, as not only satisfied all sober Persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the Mouths of the frantick People themselves.

Thus he continued administering Justice till the *Protector* died, but then he both refused the Mournings that were sent to him and his Servants for the Funeral, and likewise to accept of the New Commission that was offered him by *Richard*, and when the rest of the *Judges* urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their Importunities, and said, *He could Act no longer under such Authority.*

He lived a private Man till the *Parliament* met that called home the *King*, to which he was returned Knight of the Shire from the County

County of *Glocester*. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and Esteemed in his Neighbourhood, for though another who stood in Competition with him had spent near a Thousand pounds to procure Voices, a great Summ to be employed that way in those days, and he had been at no cost, and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who pref'd him to appear, and he did not promise to appear till Three days before the Election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by Violence, by the Lord (now Earl of) *Berkely*, who bore all the Charge of the Entertainments on the day of his Election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his Friends and Interest for him : and whereas by the Writ, the Knight of a Shire must be *Miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no Sword, that Noble Lord girt him with his own Sword during the Election, but he was soon weary of it, for the Imbroidery of the Belt did not sute well with the plainness of his Clothes : and indeed the Election did not hold long, for as soon as ever he came into the Field, he was chosen by much the greater Number, though the Poll continued for three or four days.

In that *Parliament* he bore his share, in the happy period then put to the *Confusions* that threatned the utter Ruin of the Nation, which contrary to the Expectations of the most Sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner,

that those who had formerly built so much on their Success, calling it an *Answer from Heaven* to their solemn Appeals, to the Providence of God, were now not a little Confounded, to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great Prudence and Excellent Temper led him to think, that the sooner an *Act of Indemnity* were passed, and the fuller it were of Graces and Favours, it would sooner settle the Nation, and quiet the minds of the People; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on: In which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the Publick that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the Courts in *Westminster Hall* came to be settled, he was made *Lord Chief Baron*; and when the *Earl of Clarendon* (then *Lord Chancellor*) delivered him his Commission in the Speech he made according to the Custom on such Occasions, he expressed his *Esteem* of him in a very singular manner, telling him among other things, *that if the King could have found out an honester and fitter Man for that Employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well.* It is ordinary for Persons so promoted to be Knighted, but he desired to avoid having that Ho-

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nour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the *King*, which the *Lord Chancellor* observing, sent for him upon Busines one day, when the *King* was at his House, and told His *Maj: sy* there was his modest *Chief Baron*, upon which, he was unexpectedly Knighted.

He continued Eleven years in that place, Managing the Court, and all Proceedings in it, with singular Justice. It was observed by the whole Nation, how much he raised the Reputation and Practice of it: And those who held Places, and Offices in it, can all declare, not only the Impartiality of his Justice, for that is but a common Virtue, but his Generosity, his vast Diligence, and his great exactness in Trials. This gave occasion to the only Complaint that ever was made of him, *That he did not dispatch Matters quick enough*; but the great care he used, to put Suits to a final End, as it made him slower in deciding them; so it had this good Effect, that Causes tryed before him, were seldom if ever tryed again.

Nor did his Administration of Justice lie only in that Court: He was one of the principal Judges that sat in *Cliffords-Inn*, about settling the difference between Landlord and Tenant, after the *Dreadful Fire of London*. He being the first that offered his Service to the *City*, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the Rebuilding it, in which

he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all Persons concerned : So that the sudden and quiet Building of the City, which is justly to be Reckoned one of the *Wonders* of the Age, is in no small Measure due to the great care, which he and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, (then *Lord Chief Justice* of the *Common-Pleas*, afterwards *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal of *England*) used, and to the Judgment they shewed in that Affair : since without the Rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious Suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the Fire it self had been. But without detracting from the Labours of the other *Judges*, it must be acknowledged that he was the most instrumental in that great Work ; for he first by way of Scheme, contrived the Rules upon which he and the rest proceeded afterwards ; in which his readiness at *Arithmetick*, and his skill in *Architecture*, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a *Judge* behaved himself as he did, who at the Entry into his Employment, set such excellent Rules to himself, which will appear in the following Paper, Copied from the Original under his own hand.

Things

Things Necessary to be Continually had in Remembrance.

- I. *That in the Administration of Justice, I am intrusted for God, the King and Country ; and therefore,*
- II. *That it be done, 1. Uprightly, 2. Deliberately, 3. Resolutely.*
- III. *That I rest not upon my own Understanding or Strength, but Implore and rest upon the Direction and Strength of God.*
- IV. *That in the Execution of Justice, I carefully lay aside my own Passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.*
- V. *That I be wholly intent upon the Business I am about, remitting all other Cares and Thoughts, as unseasonable and Interruptions.*
- VI. *That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any Judgment at all, till the whole Business and both Parties be heard.*
- VII. *That I never engage myself in the beginning of any Cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.*
- VIII. *That in Business Capital, though my Nature prompt me to Pity ; yet to consider, that there is also a Pity due to the Country.*
- IX. *That I be not too Rigid in Matters purely Consciencious, where all the harm is Diversity of Judgment.*
- X. *That*

- X. That I be not biased with Compassion to the Poor, or Favour to the Rich, in point of Justice.
- XI. That Popular, or Court Applause, or Distaste, have no influence into anything I do in point of Distribution of Justice.
- XII. Not to be solicitous what Men will say or think, so long as I keep my self exactly according to the Rule of Justice.
- XIII. If in Criminals it be a measuring Cast, to incline to Mercy and Acquittal.
- XIV. In Criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, Moderation is no Injustice.
- XV. In Criminals of Blood, if the Fact be Evident, Severity is Justice.
- XVI. To abhor all private Solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever, in matters Depending.
- XVII. To charge my Servants, 1. Not to interpose in any Business whatsoever, 2. Not to take more than their known Fees, 3. Not to give any undue precedence to Causes, 4. Not to recommend Council.
- XVIII. To be short and sparing at Meals, that I may be the fitter for Business.

He would never receive private Addresses or Recommendations from the greatest Persons in any matter, in which Justice was Concerned. One of the first Peers of Eng'land went once to his Chamber and told him, that having a Suit in

in Law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in Court. Upon which the Lord Chief Baron interrupted him, and said he did not deal fairly to come to his Chamber about such Affairs, for he never received any Information of Causes but in open Court, where both Parties were to be heard alike; so he would not suffer him to go on: Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a Rudeness that was not to be endured. But his Majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used, and said, he verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own Causes.

Another passage tell out in one of his Circuits, which was somewhat censured as an Affectionation of an unreasonable strictness, but it flowed from his Exactness to the Rules he had set himself: A Gentleman had sent him a Buck for his Table, that had a Trial at the Assizes; so when he heard his Name, he asked if he was not the same Person that had sent him Venison, and finding he was the same, he told him, he could not suffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid him for his Buck; to which the Gentleman answered, that he never sold his Venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every Judge that had gone that Circuit; which was

was confirmed by several Gentlemen then present : but all would not do, for the *Lord Chief Baron* had learned from *Solomon*, that *a gift perverteth the ways of Judgment*, and therefore he would not suffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid for the Present ; upon which the Gentleman withdrew the Record : and at *Salisbury* the *Dean* and *Chapter* having according to the Custom presented him with six Sugar-Loaves in his Circuit, he made his Servants pay for the Sugar before he would try their Cause.

It was not so easie for him to throw off the importunities of the Poor, for whom his *Compassion* wrought more powerfully than his regard to Wealth and Greatness, yet when Justice was concerned, even *that* did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the *Lord Chief Baron* to set his Hand to a Certificate, to restore him to it, or provide him with another : But he told him plainly *his Fault was such that he could not do it* ; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many Tears ; but finding that could not prevail, he said *he should be utterly ruined if he did it not* ; and *he should Curse him for it every day*. But that having no Effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful Words that Passion and Despair could inspire him with : to which, all the Answer the *Lord Chief Baron* made, was, *that he could very well bear all his Reproaches,*

Reproaches, but he could not for all that set his hand to his Certificate. He saw he was Poor, so he gave him a large Charity and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his Pattern, *Pomponius Atticus*, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest; So besides great Charities to the *Nonconformists*, who were then as he thought too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could, from the Severities some designed against them, and discouraged those who were inclined to stretch the Laws too much against them: He lamented the differences that were raised in this Church very much, and according to the Impartiality of his Justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the *Nonconformists*, had merited highly in the Business of the King's Restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of *Conformity* should not have been made stricter than they were before the War. There was not then that dreadful prospect of *Papery*, that has appeared since: But that which afflicted him most was, that he saw the *Heats and Contentions* which followed upon those *different Parties and Interests*, did take People off from the *Indispensab'ethings* of Religion and slackned the *Zel* of other ways *Good Men* for the substance of it, so much being spent about *External and Indifferent* things. It also gave advantages to *Atheists*, to treat the most

Sacred

Sacred Points of our holy Faith, as Ridiculous, when they saw the Professors of it contend, so *fiercely*, and with such *bitterness* about *lesser Matters*: He was much offended at all those Books that were written, to expose the *contrary Sect* to the scorn and contempt of the Age in a wanton and petulant Style; He thought such Writers wounded the *Christian Religion*, through the sides of those who differed from them: While a sort of lewd People, who having assumed to themselves the Title of the *Wits* (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands, what they had said, to make one another shew Ridiculous, and from thence perswaded the World to laugh at both, and at *all Religion* for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some *Law*, to make all *Scurrility or Bitterness in Disputes about Religion Punishable*. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigorously against the *Nonconformists*, so he declared himself always of the side of the *Church of England*, and said those of the *Separation* were good Men, but they had *narrow Souls*, who would break the Peace of the Church about such *inconsiderable Matters*, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in State Intrigues, yet upon a Proposition that was set on foot by the *Lord Keeper Bridgeman*, for a *Comprehension* of the more moderate Dissenters, and a *limited Indulgence* towards such as could not be brought within

within the Comprehension, he dispensed with his Maxime, of *avoiding to engage in Matters of State*. There were several Meetings upon that occasion. The *Divine* of the Church of *England* that appeared most considerably for it, was Doctor *Wilkins*, afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of *Chester*, a Man of as great a Mind, as true a Judgment, as eminent Virtues, and of as good a Soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper, as by his Foresight and Prudence, by which he early perceived the great Prejudices that Religion received, and the vast Dangers the *Reformation* was like to fall under by those Divisions; set about that project with the Magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself, for though he was much Censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could: After several Conferences with two of the Eminentest of the *Presbyterian* Divines, *Heads* were agreed on, some *Abaemens* were to be made, and *Exp'anations* were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the *Lord Chief Baron*, who put them in form of a Bill, to be presented to the next Session of Parliament.

But two Parties appeared vigorously against this Design, the one was of some zealous Clergymen, who thought it below the *Dignity* of the Church to alter Laws, and charge Settlements

ments for the sake of some whom they Esteemed *Schismaticks*: They also believed, it was better to keep them out of the Church, than bring them into it, since a *Faction* upon that would arise in the Church, which they thought might be more *Dangerous* than the *Schism* it self was. Besides they laid, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a Party, as soon as that was done, another Party might demand other *Concessions*, and there might be as good Reasons invented for these as for those: Many such Concessions might also shake those of our own Communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, pretending that we *changed* so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a Church that was *constant* and *true* to her self. These were the Reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on against all *Comprehension*; and they wrought upon the *greater part* of the House of Commons, so that they passed a Vote against the receiving of any Bill for that Effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends: They designed to shelter the *Papists* from the Execution of the Law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in *Popery* so well as a *Toleration*. But to tolerate *Popery* bare faced, would have startled the Nation too much; so it was Necessary to hinder all the Propositions for Union, since the keeping up the Differences was the best Colour they could find,

find, for getting the Toleration to pass only as a slackning the Laws against Dissenters, whose Numbers and Wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence *Papery* might have crept in more covered, and less regarded: So these Councils being more acceptable to some concealed *Papists* then in great Power, as has since appeared but too Evidently, the whole Project for *Comprehension* was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill Eye, as *secret Favourers* of the Dissenters, *Underminers* of the Church, and every thing else that Jealousie and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the *Lord Chief Baron*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, came to contract a firm and familiar Friendship; and the *Lord Chief Baron* having much Business, and little time to spare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to Dine with him. And though he lived in great Friendship with some other eminent Clergy-Men, as Dr. *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Barrow*, late Master of *Trinity College*; Dr. *Tillotson*, Dean of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, (Men so well known and so much Esteemed, that as it was no wonder the *Lord Chief Baron* valued their Conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the Character they are so deservedly

D in,

in, That they are reckoned among *Judge Hale's Friends*) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with *Bishop Wilkins* that was singular to him alone. He had during the late Wars, lived in a long and entire Friendship with the Apostolical Primate of *Ireland*, *Bishop Usher*: Their curious searches into Antiquity, and the Sympathy of both their Tempers led them to a great Agreement almost in every thing. He held also great Conversation with *Mr. Baxter*, who was his Neighbour at *Acton*, on whom he looked as a Person of great Devotion and Piety, and of a very subtle and quick Apprehension: their Conversation lay most in *Metaphysical* and *Abstracted Idea's and Schemes*.

He looked with great Sorrow on the Impiety and Atheism of the Age, and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining Example of his own Life, but by engaging in a Cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: And as he could not find a Subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the Age that understood it so well, and could manage it more Skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this: He was a strict Observer of the *Lord's-Day*, in which, besides his Constancy in the Publick Worship of God, he used to call all his Family together, and repeat to them the Heads of the Sermons, with some Additions of his own, which he fitted for their Capacities, and Circumstances, and that being done,

done, he had a Custom of shutting himself up for two or three Hours, which he either spent in his *Secret Devotions*, or on such profitable *Meditations* as did then occur to his Thoughts: He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his Mind, without any Art, or so much as a Thought to let them be published. He never Corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserved his own Reflections in them; So that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his Pen: These fell into the hands of a worthy Person, and he judging, as well he might, that the Communicating them to the World, might be a publick service, Printed two Volumes of them in Octavo a little before the Author's Death, Containing his

CONTemplations,

- I. *Of our latter End.*
- II. *Of Wisdom and the Fear of God.*
- III. *Of the Knowledge of Christ Crucified.*
- IV. *The Victory of Faith over the World.*
- V. *Of Humility.*
- VI. *Jacob's Vox.*
- VII. *Of Contentation.*
- VIII. *Of Afflictions.*
- IX. *A good method to entertain unstable and troublous times.*
- X. *Changes and Troubles, a Poem.*
- XI. *Of*

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- XI. *Of the Redemption of time.*
 XII. *The great Audit.*
 XIII. *Directions touching keeping the Lord's Day,
in a Letter to his Children.*
 XIV. *Poems Written upon Christmas-Day.*

In the Second Volume.

- I. *An Enquiry touching Happiness.*
 II. *Of the Chief end of Man.*
 III. *Upon 12. Eccles. i. Remember thy Creator.*
 IV. *Upon the 51. Psal. v. 10. Create a clean
heart in me. With a Poem.*
 V. *The Folly and Mischief of Sin.*
 VI. *Of self Denial.*
 VII. *Motives to Watchfulness, in reference to the
Good and Evil Angels.*
 VIII. *Of Moderation of the Affections.*
 IX. *Of Worldly hope and Expectation.*
 X. *Upon 13. Heb. 14. We have here no Con-
tinuing City.*
 XI. *Of Contentedness and Patience.*
 XII. *Of Moderation of Anger.*
 XIII. *A preparative against Afflictions.*
 XIV. *Of Submission, Prayer, and Thanksgiving.*
 XV. *Of Prayer and Thanksgiving on Psal. 116.
12.*
 XVI. *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a
Paraphrase upon it.*

In them there appears a Generous and true
Spirit of Religion, mixt with most serious and
fervent

fervent Devotion, and perhaps with the more advantage, that the Stile wants some Correction, which shews they were the genuine Productions of an excellent Mind, entertaining it self in secret with such Contemplations. The Stile is clear and Masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation, in which he expresses his Thoughts both easily and decently: In writing these Discourses, having run over most of the Subjects that his own Circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be in some pain to chuse new Arguments; and therefore resolved to fix on a Theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his Choice, by the immoral and irreligious Principles and Practices, that had so long vexed his Righteous Soul: And therefore began a great Design against *Atheism*, the first part of which is only Printed, of the *Origination of Mankind*, designed to prove the *Creation of the World*, and the *Truth of the Mosaical History*.

The Second Part was of the *Nature of the Soul*, and of a *future State*.

The Third Part was concerning the *Attributes of God*, both from the *abstracted Idea's* of him, and the *Light of Nature*; the *Evidence of Providence*, the *notions of Morality*, and the *voice of Conscience*.

And the Fourth Part was concerning the *Truth and Authority of the Scriptures*, with *Answers*

swers to the *Objections* against them: On writing these he spent Seven years. He Wrote them with so much Consideration, that one who perused the Original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it; told me, he did not remember of any *considerable* Alteration, perhaps not of *twenty words* in the whole Work.

The way of his Writing them, only on the Evenings of the *Lord's Day* when he was in Town, and not much oftner when he was in the Country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his Thoughts into a narrower Compass, and fewer words.

But making some Allowance for the largenes of the Stile, that Volume that is Printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the *perf. & best* pieces both of *Learning* and *Reasoning* that has been Writ on that subject: And he who read a great part of the other Volumes told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this Work, he sent it by an unknown hand to Bishop *Wilkins*, to desire his Judgment of it; But he that brought it, would give no other Account of the Author, but *that he was not a Clergy Man*. The Bishop, and his worthy Friend Dr. *Tillotson*, Read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the Author, and how a Man that was Master of so much *Reason*, and so great

great a variety of *Knowledge*, should be so *unknown* to them, that they could not find him out, by those *Characters*, which are so little Common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the *Lord Chief Baron*, to which the other presently agreed, wondring he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the Bishop thanking him for the Entertainment he had received from his Works, he blushed extreamly, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the Person he had trusted had discovered him. But the Bishop soon cleared that, and told him, He *had discovered himself*, for the *Learning of that Book was so various, that none but he could be the Author of it*. And that Bishop having a freedom in delivering his Opinion of Things and Persons, which perhaps few ever managed both with so much Plainness and Prudence, told him, *There was nothing could be better said on these Arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass, but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it to come out, though a little too large, than that the World should be deprived of the good which it must needs do*. But our *Juge*, had never the opportunities of revising it, so a little before his Death, he sent the first part of it to the Press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an *Essay* of his Excellent way of *Methodizing* things, in which he was so great a Master, that whatever he undertook, he would presently cast into so

perfect a Scheme, that he could never afterwards Correct it : He runs out Copiously upon the Argument of the *Impossibility* of an *Eternal Succession* of Time, to shew that *Time* and *Eternity* are inconsistent one with another ; And that therefore all *Duration* that was past, and defined by *Time*, could not be from *Eternity*, and he shews the *difference* between *successive Eternity* already past, and one to come : So that though the *latter* is possible, the *former* is not so; for all the parts of the *former* have actually been, and therefore being defined by *Time*, cannot be *Eternal*; whereas the *other* are still future to all *Eternity*, so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the *possibility* of *Eternal Successions, that have been*, as well as *Eternal Successions that shall be*. This he follows with a Strength, I never met with in any that Managed it before him.

He brings next all those Moral Arguments, to prove that the *World had a beginning*; agreeing to the Account *Moses* gives of it, as that no *History* rises higher, than near the time of the *Deluge*; and that the first *Foundation* of Kingdoms, the *Invention* of Arts, the *Beginnings* of all Religions, the *gradual Plantation* of the World, and *Increase* of Mankind, and the *Consent* of Nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews *profound Skill* both in *Historical*, and *Philosophical* Learning, so he gives a Noble *Discovery* of his great *Candor* and *Probity*, that he would

would not Impose on the Reader with a false shew of reasoning by Arguments, that he knew had Flaws in them ; and therefore upon every one of these, he adds such Allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much Exactness of Judgment, and strictnes of Censure, as if he had been set to Plead for the other Side : And indeed summs up the whole Evidence for Religion, as impartially as ever he did in a Tryal for Life or Death to the *Jury*; which how Equally and Judiciously he always did, the whole Nation well knows.

After that, he Examines the *Ancient Opinions of the Philosophers*, and inlarges with a great variety of curious Reflections in answering that only Argument, that has any appearance of Strength for the *Casual production of Man*, from the *origination of Insects* out of *putrefied Matter*, as is commonly supposed, and he concluded the Book, shewing how *Rational and Philosophical* the Account which *Moses* gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of Thought, mixed with great and curious Learning, that I confess I never met together in any other Book on that Subject : Among other Conjectures, one he gives concerning the Deluge is, that he did not think the Face of the Earth and the Waters, were altogether the same before the Universal Deluge, and after : But possibly the Face of the Earth was more even than now it is : The Seas possibly more dilated and extended,

tended, and not so deep as now: And a little after, possibly the Seas have undermined much of the appearing Continent of Earth. This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been since his Death, made out in a most Ingenious, and most Elegantly Writ Book, by Mr. Burnet of Christ's College in Cambridge, who has given such an *Essay* towards the proving the possibility of an *universal Deluge*, and from thence, has Collected with great Sagacity what *Paradise* was before it, as has not been offered by any *Philosopher* before him.

While the Judge was thus employing his time, the Lord Chief Justice Keyling dying, he was on the 18th. of May 1671, promoted to be Lord Chief Justice of England. He had made the *Pleas of the Crown* one of his Chief Studies, and by much search, and long Observation, had Composed that great *Work* concerning them, formerly mentioned: He that holds the high Office of *Juſticiary* in that Court, being the Chief Trustee, and Assertor of the Liberties of his Country; all People applauded this Choice, and thought their Liberties could not be better deposited than in the hands of one, that as he understood them well, so he had all the Justice and Courage, that so Sacred a Trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him, that when there was a great *Inequality* in the *Ability* and *Learning* of the Councillors that were to Plead one against another:

ther : He thought it became him, as the Judge, to Supply that ; so he would enforce what the weaker Council managed but *indifferently*, and not suffer the more Learned to carry the Business by the *Advantage* they had over the others in their *quickness* and *skill* in Law, and *readiness* in Pleading, till all things were cleared in which the *Merits* and *Strength* of the ill defended Cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his Judgment in Causes, but did especially in all Intricate ones, give such an Account of the Reasons that prevailed with him ; that the Council did not only acquiesce in his Authority, but were so convinced by his Reasons, that I have heard many profess that he brought them often to change their Opinions ; so that his giving of Judgment was really a learned Lecture upon that point of Law : And which was yet more, the Parties themselves, though Interest does too commonly corrupt the Judgment, were generally satisfied with the Justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His Impartial Justice, and great Diligence, drew the Chief Practice after him, into whatsoever Court he came : Since, though the Courts of *Common-Pleas*, the *Exchequer* and the *Kings-Bench*, are appointed for the Tryal of Causes of different Natures, yet it is easie to bring most Causes into any of them, as the Council or Attorneys please ; so as he had drawn the Business much after him, both into the *Common-Pleas*, and

and the *Exchequer*; it now followed him into the *Kings-Bench*, and many Causes that were depending in the *Exchequer* and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the Court to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his publick Life and Employment: But about Four years and a half after this Advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous Health, to which his great Temperance, and the Equality of his Mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an Inflammation in his Midriff, which in two days time broke the Constitution of his Health to such a degree, that he never recovered it: He became so *Asthmatical*, that with great difficulty he could fetch his Breath, that determined in a *Dropsie*, of which he afterwards Died. He understood *Physick* so well, that considering his Age, he concluded his Distemper must carry him off in a little time; and therefore he resolved to have some of the last Months of his Life reserved to himself, that being freed of all *Worldly Cares*, he might be preparing for his Change: He was also so much disabled in his Body, that he could hardly, though supported by his Servants, walk through *Westminster-Hall*, or endure the Toil of Business; he had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his Employment had brought on him, and his Profession was become ungrateful to him; he loved to apply himself

himself wholly to better Purposes, as will appear by a Paper that he writ on this Subject, which I shall here Insert.

First, If I consider the Business of my Profession, whether as an Advocate, or as a Judge, it is true I do acknowledge by the Institution of Almighty God, and the Dispensation of his Providence, I am bound to Industry and Fidelity in it: And as it is an Act of Obedience unto his Will, it carries with it something of Religious Duty, and I may and do take Comfort in it, and expect a Reward of my Obedience to him, and the good that I do to Mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence and promise of Almighty God; and it is true also that without such Employments, civil Societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to Mankind from them, and in those respects the Conscience of my own Industry, Fidelity and Integrity in them, is a great Comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these Employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of Cares, Anxieties and Perturbations.

Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose Office it is, in great Dangers, Difficulties, and Calumnies.

Fourthly, That they only serve for the Meridian of this Life, which is short and uncertain.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That though it be my Duty faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here, which as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative Life, and a due provision for Eternity: I do not know a better temporal Employment than Martha had, in testifying her Love and Duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him, yet our Lord tells her, That though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.

By this the Reader will see that he continued in his Station upon no other Consideration, but that being set in it by the Providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that Post which was assigned him, without preferring his own private Inclination to the Choice God had made for him; but now that same Providence having by this great Distemper disengaged him from the Obligation of holding a Place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it: This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the Importunities of all his Friends, and the clamour of the whole Town to divert him from it, but all was to no purpose; there was but one Argument that could move him, which was, that he was obliged to continue in the Employment God had put him in for the good of the publick: but to this he had such an Answer, that even those who were most

most concerned in his withdrawing, could not but see, that the Reasons inducing him to it, were but too strong ; so he made Applications to His *Majesty* for his *Writ of Ease*, which the King was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his Place still, he doing what Business he could in his Chamber ; but he said, *he could not with a good Conscience continue in it*, since he was no longer able to discharge the *Duty* belonging to it.

But yet such was the General Satisfaction which all the Kingdom received by his Excellent Administration of Justice, that the King, though he could not well deny his Request, yet he deferred the Granting of it as long as was possible : Nor could the *Lord Chancellor* be prevailed with to move the King to hasten his Discharge, though the *Chief Justice* often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself, and all his Friends, with his importunate Desires, and growing sensibly weaker in Body, he did upon the 21st. day of *February*, 28. *Car. 2. Anno Dom. 1675.* go before a *Master of the Chancery*, with a little Parchment Deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there Sealed and Delivered it, and acknowledged it to be Enrolled, and afterwards he brought the Original Deed to the *Lord Chancellor*, and did formally surrender his Office in these Words.

Omnibus

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens Scriptura pervenerit, Matthæus Hale, Miles, Capitalis Justiciarius Domini Regis ad placita, coram ipso Rege tenenda; assigatus, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum Matthæum Hale, militem, jam senem factum & variis Corporis mei senilis morbis & infirmitatibus dire Laborantem & adhuc Detentum, hâc Charty meâ Resignare & rursum reddere Serenissimo Domino Nostro Carolo Secundo Dei Gratiâ Angliae, Scotiae, Francie, & Hiberniae, Regi, Fidei Defensori, &c. Prædictum Officium Capitalis Justiciarri ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc Scriptum irrotulatur de Recordo. In cuius rei Testimonium huic chartæ meæ Resignationis Sigillum meum apposui. Dat' vicesimo primo Die Februarii Anno Regni dict. Dom. Regis nunc Viceximo Octavo.

He made this Instrument as he told the *Lord Chancellor* for two Ends, the one was to shew the World his own free Concurrence to his Removal: Another was to obviate an Objection heretofore made, *That a Chief Justice being placed by Writ, was not removable at Pleasure, as Judges by Patent were;* Which Opinion, as he said, was once held by his Predecessor the *Lord Chief Justice Keyling*, and though he himself were always of another Opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a Scruple.

He had the day before surrendred to the King in Person, who parted from him with great Grace,

Grace, wishing him most heartily the return of his Health, and assuring him that he would still look upon him as one of his Judges, and have recourse to his Advice when his Health would permit, and in the mean time would continue his Pension during his Life.

The Good man thought this Bounty too great, and an ill Precedent for the King, and therefore Writ a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, earnestly desiring that his Pension might be only during Pleasure, but the King would grant it for Life, and make it payable Quarterly.

And yet for a whole Month together, he would not suffer his Servant to Sue out his Patent for his Pension, and when the first Payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to Charitable Uses, and said, he intended most of it should be so Employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to Die upon the Quarter day, which was Christmas day, and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute whether the Pension for that Quarter were recoverable, yet the King was pleased to decide that Matter against himself, and ordered the Pension to be paid to his Executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great Place, he returned home with as much Chearfulness, as his want of Health could admit of, being now eased of a Burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable

of Enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his Elegant Translation of, or rather Paraphrase upon, those excellent Lines in Seneca's *Thyestes*. Act. 2.

*Stet quicunque volet potens,
Aulæ culmine lubrico :
Me dulcis Saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio :
Nullis nota Quiritibus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum Transferint mei,
Nullo cum Strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar Senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur fibi.*

Let him that will ascend, the tot'ring Seat
Of courtly *Grandeur*, and become as great
As are his mounting Wishes: As for me,
Let sweet repose and rest my *Portion* be;
Give me some mean obscure Recess a Sphere
Out of the Road or *Business*, or thefeat
Of falling lower; where I sweetly may
My self and dear retirement still enjoy:
Let not my *Life* or *Name* be known unto
The Grandees of the Time, tost to and fro
By Censures or *Applause*; but let my *Age*
Slide gently by, not overthwart the Stage

Of

Of publick Action, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
In shady privacy, free from the Noise
And bustles of the mad World, then shall I
A good old Innocent Plebeian Die.
Death is a mere Surprise, a very Snare
To him, that makes it his Lifes greatest Care
To be a publick Pageant, known to all,
But unacquainted with himself, doth fall.

Having now attained to that Privacy which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his Office together, and told them, *he had now laid down his Place, and so their Employments were determined*; upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable Presents, and to every one of them a Token, and so dismissed all those that were not his Domesticks: He was discharged the fifteenth of *February 1676*: And lived till the Christmas following, but all the while was in so ill a State of Health, that there was no hopes of his Recovery: he continued still to retire often, both for his Devotion and Studies, and as long as he could go, went constantly to his Closet, and when his Infirmities encreased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a Chair. At last, as the Winter came on,

he saw with great Joy his deliverance approaching, for besides his being *wearied* of the World, and his *longings* for the Blessedness of another State, his Pains encreased so on him, that no Patience interior to his could have born them without a great uneasiness of mind; Yet he expressed to the last such *submission* to the will of God, and so *equal* a Temper under them, that it was visible then what *mighty Effects* his Philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy Load.

He could not lie down in Bed above a Year before his Death, by reason of the *Asthma*, but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his Sicknes by a Pious and Worthy Divine Mr. *Evan Griffith* Minister of the Parish; and it was observed that in all the Extremities of his Pain, when ever he Prayed by him, he forbore all Complaints or Groans, but with his Hands and Eyes lifted up, was fixed in his Devotions: Not long before his Death, the Minister told him, *there was to be a Sacrament next Sunday at Church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own House;* But he answered, No his *Heavenly Father had prepared a Feast for him, and he would go to his Fathers House to partake of it:* So he made himself be carried thither in his Chair, where he received the Sacrament on his Knees, with great Devotion, which it may be supposed was the

the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his Last, and so took it as his *Viaticum* and Provision for his Journey. He had some secret unaccountable Presages of his Death, for he said, *that if he did not die on such a day, (which fell to be the 25th of November) he believed he shoud Live a Month longer,* and he Died that very day Month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his Reason and Sense to the last Moment, which he had often and earnestly Prayed for during his Sickness: And when his Voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his Eyes and Hands, that he was still Aspiring towards that Blessed State, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular Devotion for *Christmas day*, and after he had received the Sacrament, and been in the performance of the publick Worship of that day, he commonly wrote a Copy of Verses on the Honour of his Saviour, as a fit Expression of the Joy he felt in his Soul, at the return of that Glorious Anniversary. There are Seventeen of those Copies Printed, which he Writ on Seventeen several *Christmas days*, by which the World has a Taste of his Poetical Genius in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have Exceeded; he might have been Eminent as well as in other things; but he Writ them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the Laurel.

I shall here add one which has not been yet Printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last heWrit; it is a Paraphrase on Simeon's-song ; I take it from his blotted Copy not at all finished, so the Reader is to make Allowance for any Imperfection he may find in it.

*Blessed Creator, who before the Birth
Of Time, or e'er the Pillars of the Earth
Were fix't or form'd, didst lay that great Design
Of Man's Redemption, and didst define
In thine Eternal Councils all the Scene
Of that stupendious Business, and when
It shall appear, and though the very day
Of its Epiphany, concealed lay
Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleas'd to shew
Some glimpses of it, unto Men below,
In Visions, Types, and Prophecies, as we
Things at a distance in Perspective see :
But thou wert pleas'd to let thy Servant know
That that Blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former Ages, should at last attain
Its time, e're my few Sands, that yet remain
Are spent ; and that these Aged Eyes
Should see the day, when Jacob's Star should rise.
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord
Dismiss me now, according to thy word ;
And let my Aged Body now return
To Rest, and Dust, and drop into an Urn ;
For I have liv'd enough, mine Eyes hath seen
Thy much desired Salvation, that hath been*

So

*So long so dearly wish'd, the Joy; the Hope
Of all the Ancient Patriarchs, the Scope
Of all the Prophesies, and Mysteries,
Of all the Types unvail'd, the Histories
Of Jewish Church unridd'd, and the bright.
And Orient Sun arisen to give light
To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
The Worlds Redeemer, blest Emanuel.
Let this sight close mine Eyes, 'tis loss to see;
After this Vision, any sight but Thee.*

Thus he used to Sing on the former *Christ-mas days*, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new Songs above; so that day which he had spent in so much Spiritual Joy, proved to be indeed the day of his Jubilee and Deliverance, for between two and three in the Afternoon, he breathed out his Righteous and Pious Soul. His End was Peace, he had no struglings nor seem'd to be in any pangs in his last Moments. He was Buried on the 4th of Fe-
bruary, Mr. Griffith Preaching the Funeral Ser-
mon his Text was the 57 of Isa. i verse. *The Righteous perisheth, and no Man layeth it to heart; and Merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come,* Which how fitly it was ap-
plicable upon this occasion, all that consider the course of his Life, will easily conclude. He was Interred in the Church yard of Alderly, among his Ancestors; he did not much ap-

prove of Burying in Churches, and used to say *the Churches were for the Living, and the Church-yards for the Dead.* His Monument was like himself, decent and plain. The Tomb-stone was black Marble, and the sides were black and white Marble, upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble Inscription to be made.

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ
UXORIS EJUS FILII UNICI.

NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE ALDERLEY,
 PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS ANNO DOM.
 1609. DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESIMO
 QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS ANNO
 DOM 1676. ÆTATIS SUÆ, LXVII.

Having thus given an Account of the most remarkable things of his Life, I am now to present the Reader with such a Character of him, as the laying his several Virtues together will amount to : in which I know how difficult a Task I undertake, for to Write defectively of Him, were to injure Him, and lessen the Memory of one to whom I intend to do all the Right that is in my Power: On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended and proposed for the Imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a Picture of Him, from an abstracted Idea of great Virtues, and Perfections, than setting him

him out, as he truly was : But there is great Encouragement in this, that I write concerning a Man so fresh in all Peoples Remembrance, that is so lately Dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many Vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the Account of his various Learning, how great his Capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant Study: He rose always early in the Morning, he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his Health, but he thought it opened his Mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the Creation of God before his Eyes. When he set himself to any Study, he used to cast his design in a Scheme, which he did with a great exactness of Method; he took nothing on Trust, but pursued his Enquiries as far as they could go, and as he was humble enough to confess his Ignorance, and submit to Mysteries which he could not comprehend, so he was not easily imposed on, by any shews of reason, or the Bugbears of vulgar Opinion : He brought all his Knowledge as much to scientifical Principles, as he possibly could, which made him neglect the Study of Tongues, for the bent of his Mind lay another way. Discoursing once of this to some, they said, *they looked on the Common Law, as a Study that could not be brought*

into

into a Scheme, nor formed into a Rational Science, by reason of the Indigestedness of it, and the Multiplicity of the Case in it, which rendred it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a Method: But he said, *he was not of their Mind*, and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a Scheme of the whole Order and Parts of it, in a large sheet of Paper, to the great Satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to Compile a Body of the English Law; It could hardly ever be done by a Man who knew it better, and would with more Judgement and Industry have put it into Méthod; But he said, *as it was a Great and Noble Design, which would be of vast Advantage to the Nation; so it was too much for a private Man to undertake: It was not to be entered upon but by the Command of a Prince, and with the Communicated Endeavours of some of the most Eminent of the Profession.*

He had great vivacity in his Fancy, as may appear by his Inclination to Poetry, and the lively Illustrations, and many tender strains in his Contemplation; But he look't on Eloquence and Wit, as things to be used verily chastly, in serious Matters which should come under a severer Inquiry: Therefore he was both, when at the Bar, and ou the Bench, a great Enemy to all Eloquence or Rhetorick in Pleading: He said *if the Judge or Jury had a right understanding, it signified nothing,*

thing, but a waste of Time, and loss of Words; and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more decent way of Corrupting them, by bribing their Fancies, and biassing their Affections; And wondered much at that affectation of the French Lawyers in imitating the Roman Orators in their Pleadings. For the Oratory of the Romans, was occasioned by their popular Government, and the Factions of the City, so that those who intended to excel in the Pleading of Causes, were trained up in the Schools of the Rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of Discourse. It is true, the Composures of such a Man as *Tully* was, who mixed an extraordinary Quickness, an exact Judgment, and a just Decorum with his skill in *Rhetorick*, do still entertain the Readers of them with great Pleasure: But at the same time it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of Style, that closeness of Reasoning, nor that justness of Figures in his *Orations*, that is in his other Writings; So that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his Auditors, than that it was approv'd of by himself; and all who read them, will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as *Essays of Wit and Style*, than as *Pleadings*, by which such a Judge, as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are such Grounds to cenure the Performances of the greatest Master in Eloquence,

quence, we may easily infer what nauseous Discourses the other Orators made, since in *Oratory* as well as in *Poetry*, none can do *Indifferently*. So our *Judge* wondered to find the *French*, that live under a *Monarchy*, so fond of imitating that which was an ill Effect of the *Popular Government of Rome*: He therefore pleaded himself always in few Words, and home to the Point; And when he was a *Judge*, he held those that Pleaded before him, to be the main Hinge of the Business, and cut them short when they made Excursions about Circumstances of no Moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief Difficulties be well Stated and Cleared.

There was another *Custom* among the *Romans*, which he as much admired, as he despised their *Rhetorick*, which was, that the *Juris-Consults* were the Men of the highest Quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief Employment in the State, and became the greatest Masters of their Law: These gave their Opinions of all Cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any Present for it; and indeed they were only the true Lawyers among them, whose Resolutions were of that Authority, that they made one *Classis* of those *Materials* out of which *Trebonian* compiled the *Digests* under *Justinian*; for the Orators or *Caufidici* that Pleaded Causes, knew little of the Law, and only employ'd their mercenary Tongues to work

on

on the Affections of the People and Senate or the Prætors: Even in most of *Tullies Orations* there is little of Law, and that little which they might sprinkle in their Declamations, they had not from their own Knowledge, but the Resolution of some *Juris-Consult*: According to that famous Story of *Servius Sulpitius*, who was a Celebrated Orator, and being to receive the Resolution of one of those that were Learned in the Law, was so Ignorant, that he could not understand it; Upon which the *Juris-Consult* reproached him, and said, *it was a shame for him that was a Noble-man, a Senator, and a Pleader of Causes, to be thus Ignorant of Law*: This touched him so sensibly, that he set about the Study of it, and became one of the most Eminent *Juris Consults* that ever were at *Rome*. Our Judge thought it might become the greatness of a *Prince*, to encourage such a sort of Men, and of Studies; in which, none in the Age he lived in was equal to the great *Selden*, who was truly in our *English Law*, what the old *Roman Juris Consults* were in theirs.

But where a decent Eloquence was allowable, Judge Hale knew how to have excell'd as much as any, either in illustrating his Reasonings, by proper and well pursued Similies, or by such tender Expressions as might work most on the Affections, so that the present *Lord Chancellor*, has often said of him since his Death, *that he was the greatest Orator he had known*; for tho' his

his Words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most Significant and Expressive, that the matter could bear : Of this sort there are many in his *Contemplations* made to quicken his own Devotion, which have a Life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the harshest Tempers, accommodated to the Gravity of the Subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the Readers, that as they shew his excellent Temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their Minds. Of his Illustrations of things by proper Similies, I shall give a large Instance out of his Book of the *Origination of Mankind*, design'd to expose the several different *Hypotheses* the Philosophers fell on, concerning the *Eternity* and *Original* of the *Universe*, and to prefer the *Account* given by *Moses*, to all their *Conjectures*; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the Reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine Wit, and solid Learning and Judgment.

[That which may illustrate my Meaning, in this preference of the *revealed Light* of the *Holy Scriptures*, touching this Matter, above the *Essays* of a *Philosophical Imagination*, may be this. Suppose that *Greece* being unacquainted with the curiosity of Mechanical Engins, though known in some remote Region of the World,

World, and that an excellent Artist had secretly brought and deposited in some field or forest, some excellent Watch or Clock, which had been so formed, that the Original of its Motion was hidden, and involv'd in some close contriv'd piece of Mechanisim, that this Watch was so framed, that the Motion thereof might have lasted a Year, or some such time as might give a reasonable Period for their Philosophical descanting concerning it, and that in the plain Table there had been not only the Description and Indication of Hours, but the Configurations & Indications of the various Phases of the Moon, the motion and place of the Sun in the Ecliptick, and divers other curious Indications of Celestial Motions, and that the Scholars of the several Schools, of *Epicurus*, of *Aristotle*, of *Plato*, and the rest of those Philosophical Sects, had casually in their Walk, found this admirable *Automaton*; what kind of Work would there have been made by every Sect, in giving an account of this Phœnomenon? We should have had the *Epicurean* Sect, have told the Bystanders according to their preconceiv'd Hypothesis, that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of Atoms, that haply fallen together had made up the Index, the Wheels, and the Ballance, and that being haply fallen into this Posture, they were put into Motion. Then the *Cartesian* falls in with him, as to the main of their Supposition, but tells him, that he doth not sufficiently explicate

cate how the Engine is put into Motion, and therefore to furnish this Motion, there is a certain Matteria Subtilis that pervades this Engine, and the Moveable parts, consisting of several Globular Atoms apt for Motion, they are thereby, and by the Mobility of the Globular Atoms put into Motion. A third finding fault with the two former, because those Motions are so regular, and do express the various Phænomena of the distribution of Time, and of the Heavenly Motions ; therefore it seems to him, that this Engine and Motion also so Analogical to the Motions of the Heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions, in such an admirable Correspondency to its own Existence. A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, that he hath a more plain and evident Solution of the Phænomenon, namely, The universal Soul of the World, or Spirit of Nature, that formed so many sorts of Insects with so many Organs, Faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various Motions as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into Motion this admirable Automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it. Then steps in an Aristotelian, and being dissatisfied with all the former Solutions, tells them, Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your Solutions are Inexplicable and Unsatisfactory, you have taken up certain precarious Hypotheses, and being prepossessed

sed with these Creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your Conceptions of things according to those fancied and pre-conceived imaginations. The short of the Business is, this *Machina* is eternal, and so are all the Motions of it, and in as much as a Circular Motion hath no beginning or end, this Motion that you see both in the *Wheels* and *Index*, and the successive Indications of the Celestial Motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the *Phænomena*, without so much ado as you have made about it.

And whilst all the Masters were thus contriving the Solution of the *Phænomenon*, in the hearing of the Artist that made it, and when they had all spent their Philosophizing upon it, the Artist that made this Engine, and all this while listned to their admirable Fancies, tells them, Gentlemen you have discovered very much excellency of Invention touching this piece of Work that is before you, but you are all miserably mistaken: for it was I that made this Watch, and brought it hither; and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the Spring, and the Fusee, and the Wheels and the Ballance, and the Case and Table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several Axes that are to direct the Motions, of the Index to discover the hour of the Day, of the Figure that discovers the Phases of the Moon, and the other various Motions that you see; and then I put it together, and wound up the Spring, which hath given all these Motions, that you see in this

curious piece of Work, and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole Order and Progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this Piece of Work, the several Materials of it, the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it. This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated *Hypotheses* of those Philosophical Enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of Rhetorical flourishes, or Logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the *Hypotheses* of the learned Philosophers in relation to the Origination of the World and Man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful Explications and unintelligible *Hypothesis*. The plain, but Divine Narrative by the Hand of *Moses*, full of Sense and Congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in it self, does at the same Moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great Miftery, and renders all the Essays of the generality of the Heathen Philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable Theories, the Creatures of Phantasie and Imagination, and nothing else.]

As for his *Vertues*, they have appeared so Conspicuous in all the several Transactions and turns of his Life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related, but there are many particular Instances which I knew not how to fit to the several Years of his Life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He

He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true Son of the Church of England; moderate towards *Dissenters*, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the *Quakers*, from that mischief that was like to fall on them by *declaring their Marriages void*, and so bastardizing their Children; but he considered *Marriage and Succession* as a *Right of Nature*, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of *revealed Religion*.

And therefore in a Trial that was before him, when a *Quaker* was sued for some Debts owing by his Wife before he Married her, and the *Quakers Council* pretended, *That it was no Marriage that had past between them, since it was not Solemnized according to the Rules of the Church of England*; he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their Children Bastards, and gave directions to the *Jury* to find it *special*. It was a reflection on the whole Party, that one of them to avoid an Inconvenience he had faln, in thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed in Law, must have made their whole issue Bastards, and incapable of Succession; and for all their pretended *friendship* to one another, if this *Judge* had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their Posterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himself indeed by the Law of

the Gospel, of doing to others what he would have others do to him ; and therefore because he would have thought it a hardship not without Cruelty, if amongst Papists all Marriages were null'd which had not been made with all the Ceremonies in the *Roman Ritual*, so he applying this to the case of the Sectaries, he thought all Marriages made according to the several persuasions of Men, ought to have their Effects in Law.

He used constantly to worship God in his Family, performing it always himself, if there was no Clergyman present ! But as to his *private Exercises* in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his Character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that Humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expression of Devotion could have done.

From the first time that the Impressions of Religion settled deeply in his Mind. He used great caution to conceal it : not only in obedience to the Rules given by our Saviour of *Fasting, Praying, and giving Alms in Secret* ; but from a particular distrust he had of himself, for he said he was afraid, he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were look't on as a very Religious Man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious Men, to blaspheme the name of God : *But a Tree is known by its Fruits*; and he lived not only free of Blemishes, & Scandal, but shined in all the parts of his

Con-

Conversation: and perhaps the *distrust* he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the *Purity* of his Life, for he being thereby obliged to be more Watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent Effects on him.

He had a Soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of *loving Money*, which is generally the *root of all Evil*. He did not take the *Profits* that he might have had by his *Practice*; for in common Cases, when those who came to ask his Council gave him a Piece, he used to give back the half, and so made Ten shillings his Fee, in ordinary Matters that did not require much time or Study: If he saw a Cause was *Unjust*, he for a great while would not meddle further in it, but to give his Advice that *it was so*; If the Parties after that, would go on, they were to seek another Councillour, for he would assist none in *Acts of Injustice*: If he found the Cause *doubtful* or *weak* in point of Law, he always advis'd his Clients to agree their *Business*: Yet afterwards he abated much of the Scrupulosity he had about Causes that appeared at *first view* Injust upon this occasion: There were two Causes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the Party, or their Attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they seem'd to be *very bad*, but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were *really very good and just*: So after this he slackned much of his former

Stricknes, of his refusing to meddle in Causes upon the ill Circumstances that appear'd in them at first.

In his Pleading he abhorred those too common faults of *misreciting Evidences, quoting Precedents, or Books falsely, or asserting things Confidently;* by which *ignorant Juries, or weak Judges,* are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the same Sincerity that he used in the other parts of his Life, and used to say, *It was as great a dishonour as a Man was capable of, that for a little Money he was to be hired to say, or do otherwise than as he thought :* All this he ascribed to *the unmeasurable desire of heaping up Wealth,* which corrupted the Souls of some that seem'd to be otherwise born and made for *great things.*

When he was a Practitioner, differences were often referr'd to him, which he settled, but would accept of no reward for his Pains, though offered by both Parties together, after the agreement was made ; for he said *in those cases he was made a Judge, and a Judge ought to take no Money.* If they told him, *he lost much of his time in considering their Business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it ;* his answer was (as one that heard it told me,) *Can I spend my Time better, than to make People friends, must I have no time allowed me to do good in.*

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much Practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any Conclusion concerning any Matter of importance

portance. *Festina lente* was his beloved Motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the Head of his Staff, and was often heard say, *that he had observ'd many witty Men ran into great Errors, because they did not give themselves time to think, but the heat of Imagination making some Notions appear in good Colours to them, they without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the Impulses it made on them, whereas calm and slow Men, who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after Truth and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty.*

He laid aside the tenth Penny of all he got for the Poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper Objects for his Charities: And after he was a Judge, many of the Perquisites of his Place, as his dividend of the Rule and Box-money, were sent by him to the Goals to discharge poor Prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their Relief came. It is also a Custom for the Marshal of the Kings-bench, to present the Judges of that Court wsth a piece of Plate for a New-years-gift, that for the Chief Justice being larger than the rest. This he intended to have refused, but the other Judges told him it belong'd to his Office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his Successors, so he was perswaded to take it, but he sent word to the Marshal, *that instead of Plate he should bring him the value of it in Money*, and when he receiv'd it, he immediately sent it to the Prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually

invited his poor Neighbours to Dine with him, and made them sit at Table with himself; and if any of them were Sick, so that they could not come, he would send Meat warm to them from his Table; and he did not only relieve the Poor in his own Parish, but sent Supplies to the Neighbouring Parishes, as there was occasion for it; and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one, who consider'd they were of the *same Nature* with himself, and were reduc'd to no other *Necessities* but such as he himself might be brought to: But for common Beggars, if any of these came to him as he was in his Walks, when he lived in the Country, he would ask such as were Capable of working, *why they went about so Idly*, if they answer'd. *It was because they could find no Work*, he often sent them to some Field to gather all the Stones in it, and lay them on a Heap, and then would pay them liberally for their Pains. This being done, he used to send his Carts, and caus'd them to be carried to such places of the High-way as needed mending.

But when he was in Town, he dealt his Charities very liberally, even among the Street Beggars, and when some told him, *that he thereby encouraged Idleness, and that most of these were notorious Cheats*, he used to answer, *that he believ'd most of them were such, but among them there were some that were great Objects of Charity, and press'd with grievous Necessities, and that he had rather give his Alms to twenty who might be perhaps Rogues,*

Rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small Relief which he gave them.

He loved Building much; which he affected chiefly, because it employ'd many poor People, but one thing was observ'd in all his Buildings, that the changes he made in his Houses, was always from *Magnificece* to *Usefulness*, for he avoided every thing that looked like Pomp or Vanity, even in the Walls of his Houses; he had good Judgment in *Architecture*, and an excellent faculty in Contriving well.

He was a Gentle *Landlord* to all his Tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable Complaints, to make Abatements, for he was *Merciful* as well as *Righteous*. One instance of this was, of a Widow that liv'd in *London*, and had a small Estate near his House in the Country; from which her Rents were ill return'd to her, and at a Cost which she could not well bear; so she bemoan'd herself to him, and he according to his readiness to assist all poor People, told her, *He would order his Steward to take up her Rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing.* But after that, when there was a falling of Rents in that Country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the Tenant; yet he would have it to lie on himself, and made the Widow be paid her Rent as formerly.

Another remarkable Instance of his *Justice* and *Goodness* was, that when he found ill Money had been put into his hands he would never suffer it to be vented again, for he thought

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it was no excuse for him to put false Money in other Peoples hands, because some had put it in his: A great heap of this he had gathered together, for many had so far abus'd his Goodness as to mix base Money among the Fees that were given him; it is like he intended to have destroyed it, but some Thieves who had observ'd it, broke into his Chamber and stole it, thinking they had got a Prize; which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived when they per- ceiv'd what sort of Booty they had fall'n on.

After he was made a Judge, he would needs pay more for every Purchase he made than it was worth; If it had been but a Horse he was to buy, he would have out bid the Price: And when some represented to him, that he made ill Bargains, he said, *it became Judges to pay more for what they bought, than the true Value; that so those with whom they dealt, might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easie rate:* and said it was suitable to the reputation, which a Judge ought to preserve, to make such Bargains, that the World might see they were not too well used upon some secret Account,

In Sum, his Estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great Fortune, for from a Hundred pound a Year, he raised it not quite to Nine hundr'd, and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Seldens Estate: yet this, considering his great Practice while a Coun-

Counsellour, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of Living, was but a small Fortune : In the share that fell to him by Mr. *Seldens* Will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other Executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead Friend, and their Love of the Publick ; His Library was valued at some thousands of Pounds, and was believ'd to be one of the curioufest Collections in Europe : So they resolv'd to keep this intire, for the Honour of *Selden's* Memory, and gave it to the University of Oxford, where a noble Room was added to the former Library for its Reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned Body, to those thier worthy Benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great Treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the Will of their dead Friend, Mr. *Selden* had once intended to give his Library to that University, and had left it so by his Will ; but having occasion for a Manuscript, which belonged to their Library, they asked of him a Bond of a thousand Pound for its Restitution ; this he took so ill at their Hands, that he struck out that part of his Will by which he had given them his Library, and with some passion declared *they should never have it* : The Executors struck at this a little, but having consider'd better of it, came to this Resolution ; That they were to be the Executors of Mr. *Selden's* Will, and not of his Passion ; so they made good

good what he had intended in cold Blood, and past overwhat his Passion had suggest'd to him.

The parting with so many excellent Books, would have been as uneasie to our Judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friends Memory had not prevail'd over him, for he valued Books and *Manuscripts* above all things in the World ; he himself had made a great and rare Collection of *Manuscripts*, belonging to the Law of *England*, he was forty Years in gathering it, he himself said, *it cost him about Fifteen hundred Pounds*, and calls it in his Will *a Treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every mans view*. These all he left to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and for the Information of those who are curious to search into such things ; there shall be a Catalogue of them added at the end of this Book.

By all these Instances it does appear, how much he was rais'd above the World, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next Study was to overcome his own Inclinations ; he was as he said himself *naturally passionate* ; I add, *as he said himself*, for that appear'd by no other Evidence, save that sometimes his Colour would rise a little, but he so govern'd himself, that those who liv'd long about him, have told me they never saw him disorder'd with Anger, tho' he met with some Trials, that the nature of Man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great Injury, which it is not necessary

to

to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his Advice in the settlement of his Estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no Fee for it; and thereby shewed both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had the Soul of a Gentleman in him not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, *How he could use a Man so kindly that had wronged him so much,* his Answer was, *He thanked God, he had learned to forget Injuries.* And besides the great temper he expressed in all his publick Employments, in his Family he was a very gentle Master: He was tender of all his Servants, he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them; When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their Duty; he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, least when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetnes and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the Offence given by it to himself: But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he said, *he that by his place ought to punish disorders in other People, must by no means suffer them in his own House:* He advanced his Servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occasion

casion to Envy among them, by reason the younger Clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a Friend, than a Master, given them often good Advice and Instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profit to the other Servants who had nothing but their Wages: When he made his Will, he left Legacies to every one of them; But he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them *Robert Gibbon*, of the *Middle Temple*, Esq.; In whom he had that Confidence, that he left one of his Executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble Gratitude to his worthy Benefactor and Master, for he has been so careful to preserve his Memory, that as he let those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his Life; so he has procured for me a great part of those Memorials, and Informations out of which I have Composed it.

The Judge was of a most tender and compassionate Nature; this did eminently appear in his Trying and giving Sentence upon Criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the Fact: He behaved himself with that regard to the Prisoners, which became both the gravity of a Judge, and the pity that was due to Men, whose Lives lay at Stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the Witnesses

nesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no Confusion, which might disorder their Memory : And he Summ'd all the Evidence so equally when he charg'd the *Jury*, that the Criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give Sentence, he did it with that Composedness and Decency, and his Speeches to the Prisoners directing them to prepare for Death were so weighty, so free of all Affectation and so Serious and Devout, that many loved to go to the Tryals, when he sat *Judge*, to be edified by his Speeches, and Behaviour in them, and used to say, *they heard very few such Sermons.*

But tho' the pronouncing the Sentence of Death, was the piece of his Employment, that went most against the Grain with him; yet in that, he could never be mollified to any tenderness which hindred Justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some (whom he had Condemned) to his *Majesties* Mercy and Pardon ; he answered *He could not think they deserved a Pardon, whom he himself had Adjudged to Die* : So that all he would do in that kind, was to give the King a true Account of the Circumstances of the Fact, after which his *Majesty* was to Consider whether he would interpose his Mercy, or let Justice take place.

His Mercifulness extended even to his Beasts, for when the Horses that he had kept long, grew Old, he would not suffer them to be sold or much Wrought but orderd his Men to turn them

them loose on his Grounds, and put them only to easie work, such as going to Market and the like : He used old Dogs also with the same care : His Shepherd having one that was become blind with Age, he intended to have kill'd or lost him, but the *Judge* coming to hear of it, made one of his Servants bring him home and fed him till he died : And he was scarce ever seen more Angry than with one of his Servants for neglecting a Bird, that he kept, so that it died for want of Food.

He was a great encourager of all young Persons, that he saw follow'd their Books diligent-
ly, to whom he used to give Directions con-
cerning the method of their Study, with a huma-
nity and sweetness, that wrought much on all
that came near him, and in a smiling pleasant
way, he would admonish them. If he saw any
thing amiss in them, particularly, if they went
too fine in their Clothes, he would tell them,
It did not become their Profession. He was not
pleas'd to see Students wear long Perriwigs, or
Attorneys go with Swords ; so that such
young Men as would not be perswaded to
part with those Vanities, when they went to
him, laid them aside, and went as plain as
they could, to avoid the Reproof which they
knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his Discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful Subject, and loved for an Hour or two at Night, to be visited by some
of

of his Friends. He neither said nor did any thing with Affectation, but used a Simplicity, that was both natural to himself, and very easie to others : And though he never studied the modes of Civility or Court-breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of Justice, then he would raise his Voice a little, and so shake off those Importunities.

In his Furniture, and the service of his Table, and way of Living, he liked the old Plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new Fashions, so he rather affected a Course-ness in the use of the old ones ; which was more the effect of his Philosophy than Disposition, for he loved fine Things too much at first : He was always of an equal Temper, rather chearful than merry. Many wondered to see the evennes of his Deportment, in some very sad Passages of his Life.

Having lost one of his Sons, the manner of whose Death had some grievous Circumstances in it ; One coming to see him, and Condole, he said to him, *those were the Effects of living long, such must look to see many sad and unacceptable Things* ; and having said that, he went to other Discourses, with his ordinary freedom of Mind ; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep Impressions upon him, yet the regard he had to the Wisdom and Providence of God, and the just Estimate he made of all external things, did to ad-

miration maintain the tranquility of his Mind, and he gave no occasion by idleness to Melancholy to corrupt his Spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of Sorrow.

He had a generous and noble *Idea* of God in his Mind, and this he found did above all other Considerations preserve his quiet. And indeed that was so well Established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: Of which an Eminent Man of that Profession, gave me this instance: In the year 1666, an Opinion did run through the Nation, *That the end of the World would come that year.* This, whether set on by Astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the *number* of the Beast in the *Revelation*, or promoted by Men of ill Designes, to disturb the publick Peace, had spread mightily among the people; and Judge Hale going that year the *Western Circuit*, it happened, that as he was on the *Bench at the Assizes*, a most terrible Storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an Age, upon which a whisper or a rumour run through the Crowd, *That now was the World to end, and the day of Judgment to begin*, and at this there followed a general *Consternation* in the whole Assembly, and all Men forgot the Business they were met about, and betook themselves

themselves to their Prayers : This added to the horror raised by the Storm, looked very dismal-
ly ; in so much that my Author, a Man of no
ordinary Resolution, and firmness of mind con-
fessed it made a great Impression on himself. But
he told me, That he did observe the Judge was
not a whit affected, and was going on with the Bu-
siness of the Court in his ordinary manner : From
which he made this conclusion, That his thoughts
were so well fixed, that he believed if the World
had been really to end, it would have given him
no considerable disturbance.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say
concerning him with what one of the greatest
Men of the Profession of the Law, sent me as
an abstract of the Character he had made of him,
upon long observation, and much converse with
him : It was sent me, that from thence with the
other Materials, I might make such a Repre-
sentation of him to the World, as he indeed de-
served, but I resolved not to shred it out in par-
cels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent
me, hoping that as the Reader will be much de-
lighted with it, so the Noble person that sent it,
will not be offended with me for keeping it en-
tire, and setting it in the best light I could ; It
begins abruptly, being designed to supply the
defects of others, from whom I had earlier
and more copious Informations.

He would never be brought to discourse of pub-
lick Matters in private Conversation, but in que-

*sitions of Law, when any young Lawyer put a Case to him, he was very communicative, especially while he was at the Bar : But when he came to the Bench, he grew more reserv'd, and would never suffer his Opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it Judicially ; And he concealed his Opinion in great Cases so carefully, that the rest of the Judges in the same Court could never perceive it : His reason was, Because every Judge ought to give Sentence according to his own Perswasion and Conscience, and not to be sway'd by any respect or deference to another Man's Opinion : And by this means it hath happened sometimes, that when all the Barons of the Exchequer bid delivered their Opinion, and agreed in their Reasons and Arguments ; yet he coming to speak last, and differing in Judgment from them, hath express himself with so much Weight and Solidity, that the Barons have immediately retracted their Votes, and concurr'd with him. He hath sat as a Judge in all the Courts of Law, and in two of them as Chief, but still where ever he sat, all Business of consequence followed him, and no Man was content to sit down by the Judgment of any other Court, till the Case were brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind ; And his Opinion being once known, Men did readily acquiesce in it ; and it was very rarely seen, that any Man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did so, did it upon great Disadvantages, and was always lookt upon as a very contentious Person ; So that what Cicero says of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *Etiam quos**

quos contra statuit æquos placatosque dimisit.

Nor did Men reverence his Judgment and Opinion in Courts of Law only: But his Authority was as great in Courts of Equity, and the same respect and submission was paid to him there too; And this appeared not only in his own Court of Equity in the Exchequer Chamber, but in the Chancery too, for thither he was often called to advise and assist the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being; and if the Cause were of difficult Examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of Settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning Judgment: If it were of great Value, and Great Persons interested in it, no man ever shewed greater Courage and Integrity in laying aside all respect of Persons: When he came to deliver his Opinion, he always put his Discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to the other and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove Inconvenient to the Subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them: And from his Observations and Discourses, the Chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those Rules by which it governs it self at this day.

He did look upon Equity as a part of the Common-Law, and one of the Grounds of it; and therefore as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain Rules and Principles, that Men might Study it as a Science, and not think the Administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it, Thus eminent was this man in every Station, and into what Court soever he was call'd, he quickly made it ap-

peare, that he deserved the chief Seat there.

As great a Lawyer as he was he would never suffer the strictness of Law to prevail against Conscience, as great a Chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the Niceties and Subtilties in Law when it tended to support Right and Equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his Patience: He did not affect the Reputation of Quickness and Dispatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the Councel: He would bear with the meanest, and gave every Man his full Scope, thinking it much better to lose Time than Patience: In summing up of an Evidence to a Jury, he would always require the Bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least Circumstance; some Judges have been disturbed at this as a Rudeness, which he always looked upon as a Service and Respect done to him.

His whole Life was nothing else but a continual course of Labour and Industry, and when he could borrow any time from the publick Service, it was wholly employed either in Philosophical or Divine Meditations, and even that was a publick Service too as it hath proved; For they have occasioned his Writing of such Treatises, as are become the Choicest entertainment of wise and good Men, and the World hath reason to wish that more of them were Printed: He that considers the active part of his Life, and with what unrearied Diligence and Application of Mind, he dispatched all Mens Business which came under his Care, will wonder how he could find any time for Contemplation: He that

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considers again the various Studies he past through, and the many Collections and Observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for Action: But no Man can wonder at the exemplary Piety and Innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so 'tis manifest he never spent an idle day. They who come far short of this Great Man, will be apt enough to think that this is a Panegyrick, which indeed is a History, and but a little part of that History which was with great Truth to be related of him: Men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any Man else did ever arrive at such a Height.

He was the greatest Lawyer of the Age, and might have had what Practice he pleased, but though he did most Conscientiously affect the labours of his Profession, yet at the same time, he despised the Gain of it, and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a Tenth Penny for the Poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their Benefactor: He took more pains to avoid the Honours and Preferments of the Gown, than others do to compass them. His Modesty was beyond all Example, for where some Men who never attain'd to half his Knowledge, have been puff'd up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own Esteem by depreciating other Men; He on the contrary was the most obliging Man that ever Practised: If a young Gentleman happened to be retain'd to argue a point

in Law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the Objections when he came to repeat them, and always Commend the Gentleman if there were room for it, and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young Man, than all the favour of the Court could be.

Having thus far pursued his History and Character, in the publick and exemplary parts of his Life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was Private and Domestick, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice Married, his first Wife was *Anne Daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Faly in Berkshire, Grandchild to Sir Francis Moore, Serjeant at Law; by her he had Ten Children, the four first died young, the other six lived to be all Married; And he out-lived them all, except his eldest Daughter, and his youngest Son, who are yet alive.*

His eldest Son *Robert Married Frances the Daughter of Sir Francis Chock, of Avington in Berkshire, and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five Children, two Sons, Matthew and Gabriel, and three Daughters, Anne, Mary, and Frances, and by the Judges advice, they both made him their Executor, so he took his Grand-Children into his own Care, and among them he left his Estate.*

His Second Son *Matthew, Married Anne the Daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds, of Hilsly, in Gloucestershire, who dyed soon after, and left one Son behind him named Matthew.*

His

His third Son *Thomas*, Married *Rebekah* the Daughter of *Christian Le Brun*, a Dutch Merchant, and Died without Issue.

His fourth Son *Edward*, Married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Eamund Goodyere*, Esq; of *Heythorp*, in *Oxfordshire*, and still lives, he has two Sons, and three Daughters.

His eldest Daughter *Mary*, was Married to *Edward Alderley*, Son of *Edvard Alderley*, of *Inniscannon*, in the County of *Cork* in *Ireland*, who dying, left her with two Sons, and three Daughters; she is since Married to *Edward Stephens*, Son to *Edward Stevens*, Esq; of *Cherington* in *Glocestershire*. His youngest Daughter *Elizabeth*, was Married to *Edward Webb*, Esq; Barrister at Law, she Died, leaving two Children, a Son and a Daughter.

His second Wife was *Anne*, the Daughter of *Mr. Joseph Bishop*, of *Faly* in *Berkshire*, by whom he had no Children; He gives her a great Character in his Will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving Wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his Grand-Children to her Care, and left her one of his Executors, to whom he joyned *Sir Robert Jenkinson*, and *Mr. Gibbon*. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small Honour to derive from him; And this has made me more particular in reckoning up his Issue. I shall next give an account of the Issues of his Mind, his Books, that are either Printed, or remain in Manuscript;

script; for the last of these by his Will, he has forbid the Printing of any of them after his Death, except such as he should give order for in his Life: But he seems to have changed his mind afterwards and to have left it to the discretion of his Executors, which of them might be Printed; for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a Codicil, *That if any Book of his Writing, as well touching the Common Law as other Subjects, should be Printed; then what should be given for the Consideration of the Copy, should be divided into Ten shares, of which he appointed Seven to go among his Servants, and Three to those who had Copied them out, and were to look after the Impression.* The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his Works Printed after his Death, was; *That he apprehended in the Licensing them, (which was necessary before any Book could be lawfully Printed, by a Law then in force, but since his Death determined) some things might have been struck out or altered; which he had observed not without some Indignation, had been done to a part of the Reports, of one whom he had much Esteemed.*

This in matters of Law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous Consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his Writings, should be at the Mercy of Licensers; And therefore because he was not sure, that they should be published without Expurgations or Interpolations, he forbid the Printing any of them; in which he afterwards

wards made some Alteration, at least he gave occasion by his Codicil, to infer that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last Will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy Executors, and his Hopeful Grand-Children, may not conclude themselves to be under an Indispensible obligation, of depriving the publick of his excellent Writings.

The Conclusion.

THUS lived and died Sir *Matthew Hale*, the Renowned Lord Chief Justice of *England*: He had one of the *blessings of Virtue* in the highest measure of any of the Age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by Men of all sides and persuasions. For as none could hate him but for his *Justice* and *Virtues*, so the great estimation he was generally in, made, that few durst undertake to defend so ingrateful a *Paradox*, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His *Name* is scarce ever mentioned since his Death, without particular accents of singular respect. His *Opinion* in points of Law generally passes as an *uncontrollable Authority*,

thority, and is often pleaded in all the Courts of Justice: And all that knew him well, do still speak of him as one of the *perfectest patterns of Religion and Virtue* they ever saw.

The *Commendations* given him by all sorts of people are such, that I can hardly come under the *Censures* of this Age, for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this Book lives to *aftertimes*, it will be looked on perhaps as a Picture, drawn more according to *Fancy* and *Invention*, than after the Life if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its Credit in the present Age, will make it pass down to the *next* with a clearer Authority.

I shall pursue his *praise* no further in my own words, but shall add what the present *Lord Chancellor of England* said concerning him, when he delivered the Commission to the *Lord Chief Justice Rainsford*, who succeeded him in that Office, which he began in this manner.

The Vacancy of the Seat of the Chief Justice of this Court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the Resignation of him, that lately held it, and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause, as the infirmity of that Body, which began to forsake the ablest Mind that ever presided here, hath filled the Kingdom with Lamentations, and given the King many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that Vacancy again. And a little after speaking to his Successor, He said, *The very Labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of Business which attends it, are no small*

small discouragements; For what Shoulders may not justly fear that Burthen which made him stoop that went before you? Yet I confess you have a greater discouragement than the meer Burthen of your Place, and that is the unimitable Example of your last Predecessor: Onerosum est succedere bono Principi, was the saying of him in the Panegyrick; and you will find it so too that are to succeed such a Chief Justice, of so indefatigable an Industry, so invincible a Patience, so exemplary an Integrity, and so Magnanimous a contempt of Worldly things, without which na Man can be truly great; and to all this a Man that was so absolute a Master of the Science of the Law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the Law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierom's knowledge in Divinity, Quod Hieronymus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit. And therefore the King would not suffer himself to part with so great a Man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of Bounty and Esteem, which his retired and weak Condition was capable of.

To this high Character, in which the expressions, as they well become the Eloquence of him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the Subject, without the abatements that are often to be made Rhetorick; I shall add that part of the Lord Chief Justices answer in which he speaks of his Predecessor.

— A person in whom his eminent Virtues, and deep Learning, have long managed a contest
for

for the Superiority, which is not decided to this day, nor will it ever be determined I suppose, which shall get the upper hand. A person that has sat in this Court these many Years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his Auditors to reverence and attention: A person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot shew any Superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never shew any equal: These considerations heightned by what I have heard from your Lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good and so great a Man: It doth very much trouble me, that I who in comparison of him am but like a Candle lighted in the Sunshine, or like a Gloe-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a Person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all Posterity: And I must ever wear this Motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me,

Sequitur, quamvis non passibus equis.

Thus were Panegyricks made upon him while yet alive, in that same Court of Justice which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died: And this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his Memory, though his modesty forbid any such to be put on his Tomb-stone.

THAT

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPORTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLICK EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

F I N I S.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are Printed,
and are to be Sold by William Shrowsbury at
the Sign of the Bible in Duke-Lane.

1. *THE primitive Origination of Mankind,*
considered and examined according to
the Light of Nature. Folio.
2. *Contemplations Moral and Divine*, Part 1. Oct.
3. *Contemplations Moral and Divine*, part 2. Oct.
4. *Difficiles Nugæ, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment*, and the various solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Octavo.
5. *An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of fluid Bodies*, and the Reasons thereof. Octavo.
6. *Observations touching the Principles of natural Motions*, and especially touching Rarefaction, and Condensation; together with a Reply to certain Remarks, touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Octavo.
7. The

7. *The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus*, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance *Cornelius Nepos*, translated out of his Fragments; together with Observations, Political, and Moral thereupon. Octavo.
 8. *Pleas of the Crown*, or a Methodical Summary of the principal matters relating to that Subject. Octavo.
 9. *Tracts on several Subjects*.
 10. *A short Treatise touching Sheriffs Accounts*, to which is added a Tryal of Witches, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds, for the County of Suffolk 10th. of March, 1664. before the said Sir Matthew Hale, Knight.
 11. *Magnetismus Magnus*, or Metaphysical and Divine Contemplations on the Magnet or Loadstone.
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